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SUMMER • 1949

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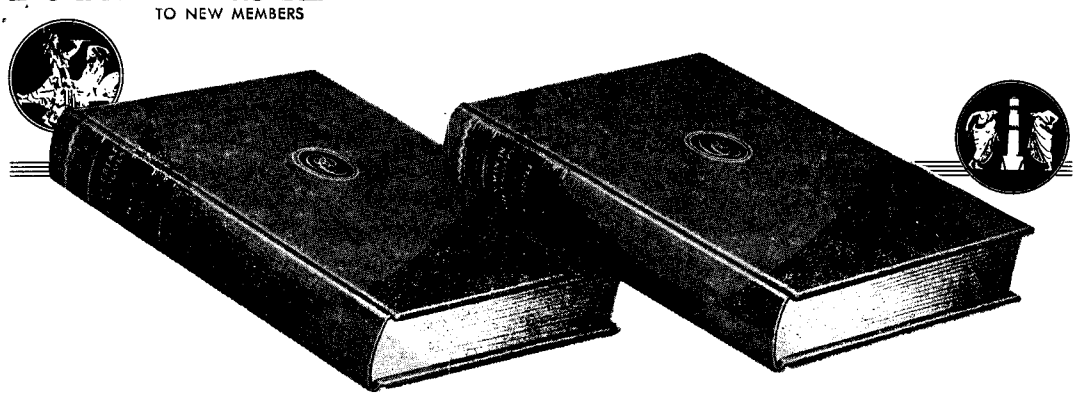

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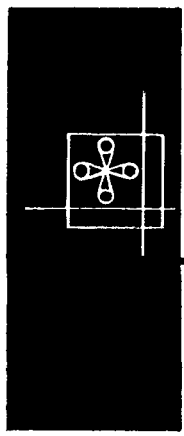

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VOLUME 18 *Summer 1949* NUMBER 3

With this number, THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR *undertakes a new venture—the printing, from time to time, of longer expressions of editorial opinion upon some subject of current importance. In this case (as in the future) the editorial is drafted by one member and circulated among the remainder of the Board before publication. All such editorials will be signed* R. W. Emerson, secundus, *in deference to the originator of the phrase, "the American scholar," and with special reference to the line quoted from him on our title page.*

In Memoriam—the College President

"WHAT WE WANT," said the Chairman of the Board of Trustees, "is a man in his middle forties with a fine record of scholarship, a good speaker, with an attractive wife, an easy manner in dealing with people, a good business head, the capacity to win the confidence of his associates, an experienced administrator with sound views on public affairs, and lots of energy—lots of it."

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"I think," broke in the third speaker, who had already been a college president for two years, "that your man should also be a licensed plumber."

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* * * *

Time was when the head of an American college wore side whiskers and a benign smile. The Reverend Dr. Dodderhead was a man of antiquarian tastes and genial habits who knew the Bible by heart and loved boys and learning in alternation. The Faculty was small and full of conviction. They addressed one another as "Sir!" and debated academic issues as if something depended upon it—which sufficiently shows how little they understood the meaning of the word "academic." The life of the mind was vehement but also leisurely. It was detached but not necessarily pointless: within certain limits set by religion, independence was a fact and a privilege.

Then came the Empire Builders—Eliot of Harvard, Butler of Columbia, Harper of Chicago, Gilman of Johns Hopkins, Wilson of Princeton, Hadley and Angell of Yale. They made the American college into a university by right and pressure of Manifest Destiny. They colonized the wastelands of intellect and made their vast domains fertile by draining the blister of unlimited capitalist accumulation. Buildings shot up and the Faculty multiplied. The curriculum grew fat and Deans arose like Cadmus' fighting men out of the dragon's teeth. Instead of the Register, which was a book, there was a Registrar, who was a staff. The President ranked with the nation's executives and forged his dreams of aggrandizement into a reality. Though forever removed from teaching or learning, he was a man of many Faculties, each of which sat under him on successive days, an inaudible rubber stamp. It was all logical and necessary: the branches of learning had sprouted a hundred twigs and students came in battalions demanding degrees.

Now, after half a century of expansion, the era of educational imperialism is over; the great leaders are dead, their overgrown empires enfeebled, and their populations wondering where the sinews of war are coming from. Worse, the small colleges of high repute have been drawn into the competitive market and are starving genteelly on dwindling incomes from endowment. For them as for the big educational powers, it is a question of buying three things: scholars, books and scientific equipment—the best of each, at prices set by the largest moneybags among members of the league. For all equally, of course, the cost of bricks and maintenance goes up with

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each inflationary move in the world of business and international anarchy. Religious conformity is a dead letter, but education's independence from anything else in the universe is illusory.

These ultimate facts define the conditions that dictate the choice of a modern college president. His first task is to raise money. While the trustees are looking the candidate over or wheedling him into acceptance, he is assured that finances will not concern him. "Our Mr. Jones is in charge of that." But once in office, he finds that it is he who must address alumni clubs throughout the land, meet elderly invalids suspected of testamentary thoughts, and plead in person with the foundations. He is the Chief of State, and only his presence certifies the claim, boast or plea.

It is to fulfill this primary duty that he must be young, energetic, a good speaker and a bland reception-linesman. But the pursuit of money in the form of gifts, instead of in the way of trade, makes other demands upon him. He must virtually please everyone who temptingly fingers a five-dollar bill ("No contribution is too small," as he himself says in one of the college's ruinously illustrated pamphlets). The Trustees, who formerly delegated their authority almost in full, and whose interference could usually be fought on grounds of intellectual principle (*vide* the Laski case at Harvard) are now drawn into every part as go-betweens for a money-mad promoter whose madness is methodical. To everyone who cares to ask, the President must justify "his" institution, teachers, student body, curriculum. Indeed, more than once he has been brought to justify education itself—whenever, that is, it does not consist exclusively in scientific training. In short, the whole executive intelligence of the modern seat of learning goes into advertising, selling and hoarding.

Obviously, the man or the establishment that asks for public favors must be a public favorite. The pace is set by the press agent, bred in Hollywood or Rockefeller Center, and apt in the art of remunerative self-display. This imposes on the College President the same requirements as on the movie star. He must seem "striking" without being original, "important" but not aloof, hard-working yet at the beck and call of his public. The college president becomes a largely factitious person who leads a newspaper life. He puts forth ideas on domestic and foreign affairs; conducts forums and presides at con-

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gresses. He is a miniature U. S. President and holds press conferences in scale with this analogy. But his shirt is stuffed with far sharper thorns, for the college head cannot ever fight or assert or command. He must at all times be "sound." Sound in one form or another is in truth the main feature of his activity.

Meantime his connection with his college or universtiy decreases from minimal to nominal. He comes back to the Campus to pant—or to settle a dispute with the union of janitors, or else to find out what *is* being taught in Economics so that he may rebut alumni complaints of Red propaganda. In addition, he has to keep up the spirits of the Faculty and Trustees. Everything is going pretty well: he has traveled 2,857 miles; but the situation is pretty bad, and salaries can certainly not be raised as they should be. His figures show that each student costs the college two-thirds more than it receives in tuition; an increase in enrollment is necessary in order to reduce overhead. As he writes this paragraph, he vaguely thinks of his one-time subject—philosophy—but comforts himself with the further thought that Kant wrote on Practical as well as Pure Reason.

Finally, the president must compose an annual report and a graduation address. In the smaller institutions, he is moreover compelled to handle awkward dismissals that others have decided on, and entertain his faculty in batches that must come out even at the end of the year. Little wonder he needs all the qualities which the Chairman of the Board (together with his experienced friend) specified. The first prerequisite alone is not drawn on after the President's induction: why should he ever have been a scholar?

The question is so rhetorical that of recent years the incumbent's relation to learning has become less and less noticeable. Lawyers, bankers, statesmen, merchants and soldiers have been raised to college presidencies—with perfect logic from the point of view of those who know what is expected of these ambassadors-at-large. The public itself probably feels all the more at ease—both as parents and as onlookers. Certainly the Trustees are more trusting, and the students have a greater sense of being *served*. As for the Faculty, they recognize that they are let alone and that administration is beyond them, hence they make no complaint.

* * * *

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What the consequence will be for education considered as a collective art, no one can say with assurance. At the moment education is no longer led. It is guilelessly drifting, at the mercy of every external current, and with only an occasional hand at the helm. What human mind could possibly conceive and put into practice any clear view of education while at the same time acting out the all-things-to-all-men enumerated in the bond? The vision and diplomatic skill that are needed on the spot to achieve even a small part of any comprehensive program cannot be supplied by a president who does not live with, observe, and steadily influence his faculty. All the administrative aids or aides cannot take the place of hand-to-hand conflicts over problems felt in common and discussed as equals. Official language on occasions of state only show that the President is a *former* colleague—if he ever was one. He no longer teaches, his status in his field is lost, his world is alien. He is neither leader, co-worker, employer, nor friend; intellectually he is not even a menace against which to sharpen one's arguments.

And in proportion as the single institution cannot be said any longer to be run by its president but merely by precedent, so American education as a whole must be content to coast. Faculty initiative is not lacking, and deans are often visited with ideas, especially after they have called on other deans; but in a time of deficits, doubt impedes all forward motion. Certainty is the prerogative of responsible governors, the essence of leadership. In the university, the allotment of money for new ventures should be made by a coordinating mind at the top; foolish attempts should be brushed aside and the claims of rival disciplines or factions arbitrated with a firm hand. In a period of vacillation and faddishness, the head of a college should possess an unshakable devotion to all the classic and modern branches of learning. He should not be for science against the humanities, nor for the humanities against science. He should nurture no pet among professional schools, and he should stand like a rock against the onset of papermongers who would transform education into some sort of symbolic bookkeeping.

Lastly, in small colleges especially, the president should exercise appointing initiative and veto alike, with a view to building his Faculty and keeping it in repair. This is as much a piece of artistic com-

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position as making a picture or a symphony. No great school in recorded history has ever been anything apart from the happy conjunction of certain great teachers; and being diverse in their greatness, they needed a binding force, a catalyst, a sun around which to revolve. In the United States—where precisely it led to the creation of the office of academic president—this generality is still true. Today, the office remaining without the function, it is a question whether the performance can continue. It is of course possible to dehumanize most things, from government to the arts and crafts; it is possible to dehumanize even the relations of human beings in a factory or a city. But to dehumanize education is like taking the nutrition out of food: it is a contradiction in terms which produces only the semblance of the thing offered. Yet this is what we are being offered more and more in higher education, in the name of efficiency and the practical way. To say that it will bring success is like saying that the modern college president is so named because he presides over education.

R. W. Emerson, secundus

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Some Developments of Materialism

George Santayana

THE materialism of Karl Marx and his followers debouches into history through two channels: one is economics, the other dialectic. That materialists should explain history through the natural operation of economic forces requires little comment. Do not all animals migrate and foregather in search of food? Do they not multiply, and do they not "liquidate" their rivals, where they find food in abundance? That is fundamental. And if wars, international and civil, sometimes cut across the vegetative fortunes of mankind, need they blind the shrewd naturalist to the radical causes of such strife, and of success in it? Feeding brings breeding, and breeding brings fighting, and the best fed and most numerous win the battles. A materialist, on these lines, may readily recompose legendary history so as to illustrate his principles.

An impartial critic, however, considering materialism merely as a possible hypothesis, might observe that the materialist draws his inspiration and chooses his models from the largest and most obvious fields of science, such as the stellar universe or the solar system or the romance of biological evolution. So perhaps the dependence of history on economics may seem obvious when we consider very large units, such as mankind and the earth's surface. But when we come to the closer texture of history, to particular wars or particular forms of government or religion, the obvious considerations are psychological and moral, and the historian becomes more plausibly a moralist, a poet, perhaps a theologian. The economists that Marx himself studied operated chiefly with human psychological forces: and the "economic man," which for them was the measure of all things, was a pure ideal. How, then, shall the materialist conceive

✪ GEORGE SANTAYANA, distinguished philosopher, is now living in Rome. Among his many books are *Realms of Being; The Last Puritan; Persons and Places, the Background of My Life;* and *The Middle Span* (Vol. II of *Persons and Places*).

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materialistically those economic causes to which he would attribute the march of history?

Psychology is a crucial subject for the naturalist. If the solar system arose according to the nebular hypothesis, all life on earth, and the whole spiritual development of man, must have lain dormant in that nebula, and presumably lies still potential in the substance of the sun, as unforeseen explosions lay in the substance of the atomic bomb. The internal causes of human action (and all causes, according to the materialist, must be fundamentally material), are therefore never to be found by tracing the movements of units on the scale of the human senses—that is, by tracing phenomena—much less by tracing ideas and passions in men's minds, which are all evoked from moment to moment by the secret life of the psyche. This secret life, which, according to the materialist, lies on the same plane as the surrounding movement of nature and society, is indeed publicly revealed in part, in purely dramatic, emotional and verbal terms, by his visible actions; and the same hidden life is revealed privately to himself by his thoughts, although what a man thinks is the most superficial part of his total being. And if the materialist is to be consistent, he must recognize this merely conventional symbolic significance of all literary psychology. It can represent the dynamism of nature only at a great remove, in the conventional terms of the human senses and of human grammar.

How then did it happen that the classical British economists, whom Marx followed, showed so realistic a sense for the movement of social institutions? Their psychology was phenomenalistic and conventional, when it was not abstractly ideal: how came it that their wisdom was so close to hard facts? They were immersed in the study of actual trade, of actual industry, of the actual transformations of national life; and the thin psychological language that they used deceived them only in their speculative conclusions. It rendered their philosophy narrow and transient; it did not prevent it from being truly descriptive and full of local sap. And this, I think, may be the case also with this element in the Marxian theory. Psychology is crucial for systematic materialism: but Marx followed Hegel and all the German idealists except Schopenhauer in neglecting psychology. To ignore psychology was perhaps a prerequisite

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to idealism; and to master psychology would be a prerequisite to an adequate materialism.

But let us suspend for a moment the discussion of economics, and turn to dialectic, the other Marxian avenue from materialism to history. Dialectic is a mode of argument, a use of logic to clarify purposes and opinions. How should material processes become dialectical? Stalin* gives a brief answer to this question. Materialism becomes dialectical on ceasing to be metaphysical. It was metaphysical, according to Stalin, when it conceived nature as a casual collection of changeless atoms, or a circular repetition of ideal types; it becomes dialectical when it learns to conceive nature as an unreturning flow of concrete but inwardly unstable formations, mutually conditioned. This philosophy is therefore dialectical in its method of tracing relations between the phenomena of nature, but materialistic in its theory of their status and substance.

Stalin is no professional philosopher—nor was Lenin, or even Marx—and it would not be fair to their honest intentions to cloud their words with a swarm of dialectical variations and distortions. Before asking whether materialism was ever really metaphysical, or can ever become either dialectical or historical, let me therefore say this: that in my opinion the philosophy of Marx and Lenin, as interpreted by the Russian Communist party (and this is the only interpretation politically important), is really materialistic, but not really either dialectical or historical in any speculative sense. If it were so, the metaphysics driven by Marx out of the door would have come back again through the window, and his materialism would not only have become metaphysical; it would have become idealistic. Such traditional terms, however, are vague and equivocal: and we may well be not only tolerant but relieved if, in using them, political reformers have their eyes fixed not on ideal concepts, but on concrete earthly facts, and on positive moral transformations to be prepared. It is then as applied to these living undertakings, not as technically definable, that their words should be understood.

There is one technical point, however, in which this philosophy

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* In his essay on "Dialectical and Historical Materialism," included in *Questioni del Leninismo,* traduzione di Palmiro Togliatti, Roma, Società Editrice *L'Unità,* 1945, Vol. II, pp. 271-301.

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seems to me to have penetrated the fog of controversy and to have said the simple truth. Materialism is not properly metaphysical. The sweeping systems of the Ionians, who were the first and purest materialists, were all clearly physical, not metaphysical; cosmological, not ideological or moralistic. Each of them lighted on a common element, water, air or fire, to which he sought to reduce everything else; and ultimately Greek physics adopted these three, with the judicious addition of earth, to be the materials of nature. These materials were judged to be dynamic in themselves and to fall spontaneously into a natural order and life: an assumption which is essential to an adequate materialism. It is true that Democritus adopted from the Pythagoreans those perfect geometrical shapes which he attributed to his atoms; and from the Eleatics he borrowed that void, identified with Non-Being, which is the most metaphysical idea conceivable. Democritus had an irrepressible imagination. To posit atoms was a stroke of genius. This symbol marks the granular many-centered distribution of things in nature, from the dust to the stars, from the individual soul to the seed from which it develops. Leibnitz, who was also a genius, perceived the same affinities; but to have too much genius is dangerous, if you wish to see the truth. Democritus, as we learn today, should not have supposed atoms to have exact geometrical shapes or to be indestructible or pellucid and structureless, as a jewel looks to the eye, or a glass of wine traversed by the light. These are idealizations foreign to natural science. In nature atoms are such only functionally, as soldiers are in an army: you must never take from matter, if it is to be the substance of this world, the relativity of its dimensions and motions and the fertility of its hidden depths. Of this the Ionians had a healthy intuition; and Democritus himself, though betrayed by the very clearness of his thought into a sort of ideolatry, yet in the main was faithful to his evidently materialistic intentions. For he felt the reality, the authority, the unfailing order of the world in which we move and act, amid objects collateral with our own bodies, and amid forces continuous with our own physical force; in contrast to which, he mocked that evanescent world of images, passions and words which drifts before us as in a waking dream.

In Marx, this spirit of materialism seemed to blow also, insofar as

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he chose material agencies, like the equipment of industry and the crowding of population, to explain political movements conventionally attributed to the might of ideas. Had he been a laughing philosopher, like Democritus, he might have traced the domination of matter satirically through the romantic revolutions of modern politics and philosophy: his residence in England and labors at the British Museum would not have left him without details to adduce in evidence. But Marx was not a satirist; he was an ardent Hebrew prophet, and the great prophet Hegel, also essentially eschatological, had been his master. It was impossible for him not to see the handwriting on the wall. Things were moving toward a great deliverance. Matter, as always, would prove the instrument of destiny.

"My dialectical method," Marx himself tells us, "not only differs from the Hegelian method in its foundations, but is diametrically opposed to it. For Hegel, the process of thought (which he actually transformed, under the name of Idea, into a separate thinking mind) is the Demiurgos or Artisan of the cosmos, which cosmos is merely an incidental exemplification of that (divine) Idea. For me, on the contrary, the ideal factor is nothing but the material factor transferred and transmuted in the brain of man." *

This sounds categorical, and we might infer that Marx meant his dialectic to be only an intellectual perspective or dramatic formula imposed upon events by the bias of human apprehension. Yet he speaks of *self-contradiction* driving each phase of economic history to turn into the next. Hegel could use such language because for him "history" did not signify a series of actual events, but rather the secret magic or meaning of such a series of events revealed to the genius of the historian. In such a dialectical idea there might well be contradiction, as for instance in Protestant theology, if the absolute inspiration of Scripture and the absolute inspiration of the private heart were articles of the same creed. An evolution in that faith was then compulsory logically, although it need not occur historically in every Protestant community. But Hegel, who in his dialectic was intent on the dynamics of change—really a physical problem—thought only of the real contradiction that might lie in the *inspiration* of each stage in the movement, not deigning to

Ibid., pp. 271-2.

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consider the instability of its physical equilibrium, which for the materialists was the ground of all those inspirations and of their contradictions. It was therefore this instability that deserved the name of dialectic, by which Hegel had always meant the dynamics of change.

But then Marx should never have called the instability of events a *contradiction*. In the ruin of private enterprise overwhelmed by monopolies there was never any contradiction. There was only underselling. Yet this incapacity to survive in private business is not a logical predicament. No divided will troubles the monopolist, but a socialist revolution confiscates his millions, or he is annexed by a shrewd dictator, to be Secretary to the People's Treasury. So when a private picture-gallery is turned into a public museum. Probably the passion to collect has not yielded in the amateur to a sense of civic duty; but none of his heirs will have the desire or the means to preserve the collection, which must be bequeathed to the State or else dispersed. The solvent of human achievements is not dialectic but misfortune.

And what, properly speaking, is dialectic? Only, I think, a play of variations in meaning. It was invented by the Sophists, as a method of confusing and discrediting all received opinions. It was rescued and turned against its inventors by Socrates, without making it into pure logic: for dialectic had, and has always retained, an element of foresight and malicious intent, which in Socrates became benevolent irony. He employed dialectic in the pursuit of self-knowledge, in the effort to discover, beneath current language and prejudice, what at bottom a man really thought, or loved. When, for instance, one of his sons complained of Xantippe, Socrates asked him whether he thought his mother wished him ill. No: the boy, abashed, said he didn't think that. But then, Socrates continued, why not be content with knowing that she loves her son, and disregard her words as of no consequence? Thus a little dialectic, showing up hasty anger in a new light, could modify that anger in the interests of reason and peace.

To transfer dialectic from its moral and quizzical sphere to the realms of matter and history was, then, possible to Hegel only because he regarded the true being of nature and history not as a

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procession of actual events, but as perspective chosen and distinguished by the dramatic intuition of the philosopher, perhaps only poetically or religiously, but more often in some special political or moral interest. Such history or science is evidently not the full truth of things as they have occurred, but speculative romance, where almost everything is omitted, the parts retained are transfigured, and a moral is superposed.

I think we may safely say that if Marx retained this dialectic, without its theological fulfillment, in his view of history, the reason was that he had a moral and dramatic future much more at heart than any speculative rigor or consistency. For any materialist, the automatism of nature is generative: I mean events there grow out of one another in a wasteful meandering multitude of local derivations and conjunctions, not according to any assignable plan or dramatic unity. Yet throughout nature automatism, in its foundations, is self-repeating, so that recognizable cycles of change are established, as in the reproduction of plants and animals, graphic historical units being thus forced on our attention. In astronomy and mechanics these cycles are so precise and unchanging that we may predict them with confidence. Where reproduction is by fusion of two different automatisms, as when it is sexual, each new individual is novel and unique; yet none comes to satisfy any intention or idea operating without physical means. The same is true in politics: everything there is planned and replanned by dozens of hotheads: but what ensues materially is the product of mutually checking and deviating influences, so that nothing happens as anybody wished. This, however, is not an observation agreeable to prophets; and we can understand that Marx, feeling justly that a profound social transformation was brewing in the industrial melting-pot of the nineteenth century, could not refrain from adapting to his ends the extremely graphic and tempting dialectic of Hegel, and seeing in it, in spite of his own materialism, a predestined "phenomenology of the spirit."

We must remember that Marx was at once a tireless student and an irrepressible reformer, offended by contrary evils and errors in the world, and agitated by diverse inspirations. Like the Hebrews of old, he was deeply moved by the undeserved misery of the

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laboring poor; it was a physical misery and a physical injustice; and it should be by a revolution in the physical conditions of life for the masses that honest relief should be found. Here the prophetic vein intervenes and inconsistently dominates: this relief must not be partial or temporary: it must be total, final and already in sight. The eschatology of Hegel could lend a specious speculative sanction to this visionary demand: there, too, the world of nature and history was brought violently round to a glorious millennium. Yet both the method and the final good to be achieved were for Marx material, and such as a shrewd observer of the contemporary world might see to be possible or even inevitable in the near future; so that materialism could be enthusiastically retained and felt to be the predestined herald of a miraculous redemption.

Leaving, however, the interpretation of Marx to his followers, as it is but fair to do, we may put a more speculative question. Would a materialism free from all admixture of idealism or militancy involve any particular code of politics or morals? Essentially and directly, it certainly would not. Materialism intends to be scientific, and science is a description of nature as it is and as it functions, not an ideology or a collection of precepts. Moreover, materialism traces, and traces sympathetically, the whole generative movement of nature; it feels the equal right of every animal to strive to live, and in that sense its sympathies might be called democratic. A moral ideal in this system must be omnimodal or, if you prefer, non-existent. But at the same time materialism records, at every step, the ruin of everything that is inopportune, the agony of crime, the ignominy of vice, the madness of passion. Thus the picture it paints of existence is full of silent warnings and monitions, yet also full of glorious and lovely models. In this sense the tragic but stimulating lesson it teaches is aristocratic, severe, hard-hearted, yet always leaving a tempting vista open to the bold, to the artist, and to the thinker. It invites all nations and all arts to try their luck: but it discloses a past covered with ruins, and a future in which little that we can care for or understand may be expected to exist.

More subtly rendered, with no alloy of illusion, the personal morals and politics inspired by materialism may be found in the best known of Epicurean poets—I mean, in Lucretius and in Horace.

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They are diverse in dignity, as nature is; and each touches different notes of the moral gamut, as nature touches them in the unintimidated human heart. Lucretius begins with an enthusiastic invocation of Venus, identified for the moment with *natura naturans*. I would not assert that sympathy with omnimodal nature is imposed by materialism on the philosopher, or even on the poet: this miscellaneous abundance may bring on the vertigo. At any rate it brings on the most cruel conflicts between incompatible forms of life, each of which is alike a child of *natura naturans*, each bent on its particular faculty and occasions. Initially, all careers are open to the will; but eventually, in the world where they meet and cross one another, almost all careers are closed. And Lucretius, after his outburst of sympathy with everything growing and blooming, begs Venus to imprison her lover, Mars, in her arms, and compel him to grant peace not (it would be too much to ask) to the world, but to the Romans. The hymn to life ends at once with a prayer for peace, as a special favor.

Elsewhere Lucretius shows us (what he forgets here) that Venus herself is the source of war. All these natural passions that breed so much splendor and beauty are presupposed by the naturalist; yet he knows that they are not only dangerous in view of untoward circumstances, but are poisoned inwardly by their own lusts and reciprocal hatreds. Peace again seems the only true good; because pleasure, which Epicureans officially declare to be the good, is not wholly pleasant when actual, but pleasant only by definition; for *from the very fountain of its sweetness bubbles up something bitter that stings in the midst of the flowers*. Lucretius, in saying this, was thinking of love, of love so pursued in all its forms by anxiety and sorrow. But the contradiction is no less present in pride, wealth, power, ambition, reputation, enthusiasm and religious faith. Satisfaction cannot be complete so long as the soul is divided and the mind full of incidental things. To be pure, as Lucretius demands that pleasure should be, it must be enjoyed in tranquility—I had almost said in Nirvana. Human dispositions differ; Lucretius seems to have sought the highest good at last in a voluntary death. But to me unalloyed pleasure seems to come daily in two things, both disinterested in origin and both potentially all-comprehensive in

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scope—I mean, intelligence and laughter: the very things, according to tradition, that delighted Democritus, the patriarch of materialism.

By Horace, who was without any hearty passion, Venus and simple pleasures were habitually praised, somewhat ironically. They were a resource when there was nothing better; they were amiable, and they were cheap. Green young people would rave about them; they were innocent and human, and would be disillusioned in time. A court poet was also bound to sing artificially the praises of rustic religion and of successful campaigns; but Horace does not allow traditional piety to deceive him, nor does he deceive posterity by his flattery of Maecenas and of Augustus. Glory is like Venus. You may be dazzled by it, and may pursue it in your day; but *miseri quibus intemptata nites!* That is the lesson of the whole business. The jungle is open to the sportsman, but he must be strong and well equipped. Nature is by no means hostile to greatness, whether of mind or of fortune. It breeds and fosters the lion no less than the lamb, yet both conditionally, temporally, under strict inner and outer requirements. True, there are some princely souls that spontaneously know how to be masters of things and of their own passions; such a one Horace paints in the young Paulus Maximus, *centum puer artium,* fit to carry far and wide the banners of love, as well as of war. Yet the best fortune is clouded a little, and evaporates quickly. In the fifth act of the most brilliant tragedy the tone, though reconciled, must always be funereal. The spirit then, in the presence of the sum of things, passes into a twilight world, the sphere of reflection, the realm of eternal truth.

Thus materialism also, by its very hopelessness, opens the way to *metanoia.* For it, as for the Indian sages, the endless succession of catastrophes and paradises is an old story. Redemption is not to be sought horizontally, but vertically. Life would be a predicament in any paradise; the point is to make a fine art of it, whatever it may chance to be. Claim possession of nothing that you are not ready to surrender. Then you may live a reasonable life—free, as Lucretius says, from care and from fear, with judicious abstention here, with smiling participation there, with perhaps some small achievement on your own part, and above all with a little of that philosophy which the ancients preached and sometimes even practiced. Then, neither

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boastfully nor mournfully, you might say to yourself daily: I have lived. Nations and philosophies might learn to make the same reflection, if they had been noble and clear enough in their day to render that reflection satisfying.

Is this lesson of honest materialism that which inspires the government of communist Russia? It does not seem so on the surface; but I am not competent to judge either what is the fundamental spirit of the Russian people or what is the final aim of their leaders. If all that stirs were open-minded humanity in its motive, with universal justice toward the poor and enslaved of all nations for its goal, this immense movement would not be really entangled in any dialectical theory of history. It would be simply a recovery of unsophisticated human kindness and realistic good sense, made conscious and unified by the modern facilities for intercommunication. And a government concerned only with a rational universal economy, and controlling only material services, as the commissariat does in an army, might well bring the same advantages to all nations that medicine brings to all ailing individuals. Where nature has set down conditions for welfare, it is not tyranny but kindness for the expert to point them out to the unsuspecting layman; but he must speak by the authority of things, not by the inspiration of any fantastic ideology or of any racial or national ambition. Were government confined to regulating rationally the economic order of human society, spirit, relieved of all animal anxiety, might for the first time be free in its own sphere.

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Ten Poems

Theodore Spencer

The Neurosis

Little did that godmother know
Who, grinning vilely, slipped the pea
Under the mattresses, that she
(Wicked creature that she seems)
Would to the world a princess show
And fill her sleep with marvelous dreams!

From Jonathan Edwards

The planets acknowledging decent dependence,
The sun accepting consenting attendance,
The delightful suitableness of white in a cloud,
The innumerable agreeablenesses of the tunes of light,
Oh, all in sweet ardor singing aloud
Into the night, against the night!

A Voice

"Plunge to the moment as it burns;
Live in this tree, this branch, this flower!
Against the enormous thought that turns
Hour from hour into hour
Oh, cry, beyond the burning year,
'The world is lovely; I am here!' "

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Adult

"Boys! Don't Play Here! J. North, Prop."
The notice in the seed-store said.
I saw the bins, and knew what need
Had forced J. North to put it up;
Hungry to plunge both hands in seed
I had to ask the price instead.

Escapists and the Zeitgeist

Great Thing behind this clouded age,
Huge Boyg and Lord of all we do,
Would that our grief, our joy, our rage,
Weren't all we have for knowing you!
Oh, that blaming you, we'd blame
More than ourselves by another name!

A Twentieth-Century Attitude

For long, for long, man learnt that from
God above his good had come.
Then Darwin said, "Why, no! . . . No.
Man's good has grown up from below."
—Man's good . . . It matters whence it flares?
—Yes; since it is.
(But, oh, who cares?)

Heraclitus among the Benedictines

No modulation I can hear
Crux Santa Sit Mihi Lux
Outsoars the old theme your Sepulchre
Non Draco Sit Mihi Dux
Has yet to silence or make clear:
The flux is all and all is flux.

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A Wish

Oh, that in praising anything
We had, as truth, the right to say
(What's not been true since time began,
And history shivers from the sting):
"This is a creature in its way
Humble and resonant as a man"!

A Sparrow

Down on the grass came fluttering
A sparrow, and did not see me there,
And still not seeing, he spread his wing,
And bathed in the sun and the sweet air,
And still not seeing, seemed to play.
Then suddenly saw, and flew away.

"The Second Law of Thermo-Dynamics Describes Nature's Increasing Randomness"

Matter whose movement moves us all
Moves to its random funeral,
And Gresham's law that fits the purse
Seems to fit the universe.
Against the drift what form can move?
(The God of order is called Love.)

✪ The untimely death of THEODORE SPENCER in January of this year was a great shock to his many friends and admirers. Mr. Spencer held the Boylston chair of rhetoric and oratory at Harvard University and was widely known as a poet, critic and Shakespearean scholar.

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The Physicians of Warsaw

Martin Gumpert

IN 1940-1941, certain physicians in Warsaw had an unprecedented opportunity to observe the pathological effects of starvation.

This is what happened.

On October 16, 1940, the German occupation forces in Warsaw established an official ghetto. All "Aryans" were evacuated from the area. Eight-foot-high brick walls, topped with broken glass, closed the exits. Only one gate was left open for closely watched contact with the outside: the "Transferplatz," where once a week food was delivered—bread made from wormy flour mixed with plaster and sawdust, and rotten potatoes. Otherwise, there was complete isolation for approximately 500,000 men, women and children. (Before the war, there was 330,000 Jews in Warsaw, but their number increased after the German invasion.)

As soon as the Ghetto was established, the Jews began to organize their existence. A Society for the Promotion of Health was formed to give medical aid. Soup kitchens (for bread-and-water and potato-and-water gruel) were set up. Twenty thousand house committees collected supplies for children. Schools were started, textbooks being copied by hand by the boys and girls. Newspapers—illegal—appeared, in Hebrew, Yiddish and Polish. All this in the midst of a tremendous struggle simply to exist. Living quarters were unbearably crowded—there was scarcely a square yard of empty space in the whole walled-in section. And there was no soap, no fuel, no gas or electricity, and often no water.

At the end of a year, all reserves of food were gone: the last bag of rice from the shelf, the last bit of sugar, the last piece of dried fruit, the last little tin of fish. All the horses had been eaten. A day's

✪ A practicing physician, specializing in geriatrics, MARTIN GUMPERT is the author of books of scientific interest, and of novels and poetry.

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ration, by then, consisted of 800 calories. (In this country, the usual quantity is 3,000 calories or more.) The mortality rate, of course, rose very high, about 500 for each twenty-four hours. When a man died, or a woman or child, his clothes were removed—after all, there was no way to buy cloth; every rag must be saved—and the naked body was then placed in the street. This was to escape the Germans' exorbitant burial tax. Later, the bodies would be collected on carts and dragged by starving fellow-citizens to anonymous mass graves.

On July 21, 1942, came the first order for deportations from the Ghetto. By four o'clock each day, so many Jews must be ready—ready for death. First went the sick and the aged, to be poisoned, gassed, burned; then the intellectuals, who were systematically hunted down and killed. Next went the unemployed, followed by those who did not work for the war effort. Even in the Ghetto, the Germans had set up war plants; and for a time some 10,000 young workers were exempt from the general order, segregated in a so-called "small ghetto" of their own. But all along, their parents and children were taken from them, snatched out of their arms, and dragged away to be killed.

After six months of deportations the Ghetto population had gone down from 500,000 to 40,000, and the Mayor of the community, Adam Czerniakow, had committed suicide in despair; but during this period the Jews had secretly mobilized. Guns, revolvers, hand grenades had been smuggled into the district. Underground arsenals had been built, elaborate plans for street combat worked out, and a system of medical stations set up for expected casualties.

The first armed resistance began on January 19, 1942. *S.S.* and Latvian troops had entered the Ghetto in the morning for an attack on the remaining 40,000 Jews. They found barricades manned with fighters, fighters who fired on them and killed them—killed Germans! A call was sent out for tanks, and a thousand or more Jews were killed; then the troops withdrew, apparently stunned by the unexpected resistance. For a while, even the daily deportations ceased; but during this period (several months) a force of approximately 9,000 German soldiers was collected and equipped with artillery, armored trucks, tanks, flame-throwers and airplanes. Finally, on April 19, 1942, the final assault began: the proud German

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Army against the wretched Ghetto Jews. During the first days 3,000 Jews were killed. On April 21, snatches of a radio broadcast were heard in New York, although quickly cut off: "The last 35,000 Jews in the Ghetto of Warsaw have been condemned. The people are being murdered. Women and children are defending themselves with their naked arms. Save us!"

The battle lasted forty-two days. Nazi arsenals were seized and blown up. Five hundred Jews slipped out of the district to break open the Pawiak jail, and all prisoners (including German deserters) went over to the Ghetto fighters. Suicide squads of Jews crawled under German trucks with high explosives. Single individuals attacked tanks with hand grenades. Finally the Germans decided the whole district must be destroyed with incendiary bombs.

It is almost impossible to imagine those last nightmare days, with entire families rushing from flaming houses into the face of machine guns, with streams of a city's inhabitants cornered in narrow streets and rundown by tanks. Hospitals were invaded, and the patients killed in their beds. Thousands were burned alive. There was nowhere to step but on corpses—and this day after day, with no escape, and no expectation of help from any side, or kindness or mercy or pity or hope. Every building was a fortress until it lay in ashes. At last, on the forty-second day, only one was left, with the Jews' blue-and-white flag still waving above it. The battle went from floor to floor, until, at the end, on the roof, the last Ghetto fighter wrapped himself in his flag and threw himself down onto the burning ruins.

In the face of the systematic degradation and destruction of the Jews, their physical resistance is surprising. Still more remarkable is their moral courage. Perhaps the most dramatic evidence of this is the story of a group of Ghetto physicians who launched a cooperative research project to study the effects of starvation on the human body—their own bodies included. Dr. Milejkowsky, health commissioner of the district, organized a committee which established special wards for adults and children, and rebuilt the laboratories (completely destroyed by the 1939 Nazi invasion) as well as possible. Many essential instruments were, of course, lacking; these had

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to be bought outside the Ghetto and smuggled in at the risk of death. Practical work began in February, 1942, and monthly sessions were held to discuss the observations of the physicians. Two age groups—one of six to twelve, and the other of twenty to forty—were decided upon, in order to exclude from the investigation the biochemical disbalances of infancy, adolescence and advancing age. Everyone knew that his work could be interrupted suddenly by individual death—his own, or his patients'—or by mass catastrophe. Everyone knew that the work was likely, anyway, to conclude only in death. But the doctors worked feverishly, without a day's interruption, and in the months at their disposal accumulated a quantity of experiments and observations which would have taken many years to collect under normal conditions. At last, as the approaching crisis grew desperate, it became clear that the manuscript must be removed from the Ghetto while there was yet time. It was delivered to Dr. Witold Orlowski, professor of internal medicine at the University of Warsaw.

None of the twenty-two collaborating physicians survived. The only one still alive after the battle of the Ghetto, Dr. Emil Apfelbaum, died in January, 1946, as a result of his experiences.

I saw a copy of the document for the first time two or three years ago, and was deeply moved by it—a treatise which must surely be unique in scientific history. The manuscript was carefully written in longhand on official German Army stationery, in Yiddish. A friend translated parts of it to me at the time. There were six studies: "The Pathology of Starvation," "Clinical and Biochemical Observations About Starvation," "The Clinic of Hunger in Children," "Clinical Studies of the Circulatory System in Extreme Hunger," "Blood and Hunger," and "Eye Disturbances in Hunger." The papers have recently been translated into French under the title, *Maladie de Famine*, and published in Warsaw by the American Joint Distribution Committee. The book was sent to me a few weeks ago.

There is no mention of Hitler in the 262 pages of this work. The word "Nazi" does not appear. There is no discussion of politics, and no note of self-pity. The only reference to anything not strictly scientific is at the head of Dr. Apfelbaum's contribution: "I dedicate

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this work to the memory of my daughter Irene who died the death of a martyr." There is also a short editorial footnote on page eighty-four to the effect that the dermatologist of the project, Dr. Raszkies, was sent to Treblinka (an extermination center) where he died in the "cyclon chamber" in 1942. His paper apparently was lost.

The complete scientific detachment of the authors of these studies from their own fate, and from the infernal background and surroundings of their studies, is almost incredible. The content of their findings is amazingly copious in view of the great lack of research facilities. There are a few pictures of patients in the final stages of starvation, which give a clear impression of the miserable poverty of the hospitals. (And the accusing, hopeless, insane stare of the pitiful children will haunt all readers of the book.)

From the actual papers:

Dr. A. Braude-Heller: "The mental changes and attitudes of the children are among the earliest symptoms of hunger: their apathy, which increases with the progress of starvation. The child loses his alertness, does not play, his movements grow slow. At the same time one observes changes of character: the children become disagreeable and quarrelsome. They seem extremely sad. Their intellectual development seems to stop, sometimes they appear almost insane. In the most advanced stage of the disease the children lie on their sides, bent, their legs folded. Such a sickroom full of children covered up to their necks, even in summer (because of their constant chilliness), is quite characteristic. They don't move, act very quiet, but they do not sleep, they suffer from insomnia. In advanced cases they can neither walk nor sit."

Dr. J. Stein: "The hunger in the Ghetto surpassed everything we have seen or heard on the subject." The official diet of 800 calories daily contained virtually no fat, very small amounts of vegetable protein, and almost no vitamins. It was little but carbohydrate. The average weight of the adult patients who had lived on this diet was between 30 and 40 kilograms (from 70 to 90 pounds), 20 per cent

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to 50 per cent less than normal. The lowest weight observed was that of a thirty-year-old woman, 152 centimeters tall (about five feet) weighing 24 kilograms (about 64 pounds).

Dr. Apfelbaum: "The organism which is destroyed by prolonged hunger is like a candle which burns out: life disappears gradually without a visible shock to the naked eye. The hunger sufferer grows lazy. He is a miser who avariciously guards what is left to him—that is, his last physical reserves. His motions are calculated, his slowness, sometimes even the complete lack of motion for several days, are very characteristic; his tendency to remain in a lying position, the somnolence, the silence, the sluggishness of the reflexes, the mental drowsiness: this is the customary picture of cachexia due to hunger.

"Our study has aimed at an understanding of the mechanism which regulates this economizing of energy. The results should throw some light on the pathology of hunger. The material that was at our disposal cannot be compared with any thus far known, because of its magnitude and duration, and the advanced degree of starvation."

The orderly scientific experiment of the Ghetto physicians, which proceeded through the first period—of starvation—was interrupted by the second period—of extermination. Their laboratories were smashed; their hospitals were burned; and, most important, the object of their study, man, was destroyed wholesale. Nonetheless, the work went on, as best it could. Up to the end there was a little group of physicians, gathered in a basement by the Ghetto cemetery, discussing, writing, editing, correlating their facts and their conclusions, until they themselves died of the symptoms they so accurately described, or were led away to slaughter, or perished in the fighting. They have given scientists a book which will be a rewarding source of information. Even more: they have left the world an abiding testament to human self-respect and dignity.

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Bourgeois Genetics and Party-line Darwinism

Harold H. Plough

THE acrimonious discussions over genetics during the past few months in the press of the United States and England, on the one hand, and the U.S.S.R., on the other, have made it clear that science, as well as political and social theory, is a battleground in the cold war between the West and the East. The situation became evident in a dramatic incident at the Eighth International Congress of Genetics held in Stockholm, July 7-14, 1948. There were gathered over five hundred delegates from thirty-seven countries to review the achievements of the science during the past nine years, and by discussion to indicate the trends in investigation for the future. The president, Professor H. J. Muller of Indiana, Nobel Laureate in medicine in 1946, paused in his scholarly review of progress in genetics and its philosophical implications to do honor to a list of scientific martyrs in the U.S.S.R. He read the names of Soviet geneticists who have been liquidated for no other reason than that their scientific views are currently in disfavor with the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

An international scientific meeting is the last place for politics, for any science is a patchwork of observations from many nationalities, and there were many biologists present from behind the Iron Curtain, even though none from Russia. Still more significant was the fact that Muller was himself an early admirer of the Soviet philosophy, especially of its initial encouragement of science, and its opposition to Nazi racial doctrines. He spent the years from 1933 to 1937 as senior geneticist at the Institute of Genetics in Moscow,

✪ Professor of biology at Amherst College, HAROLD H. PLOUGH was a member of the group of graduate students who worked with T. H. Morgan at Columbia when the Drosophila genetics was being developed. He is the author of many scientific papers dealing with the effects of environment on mutation. Dr. Plough attended the 1948 Genetics Congress in Stockholm, Sweden, at which the split with the Russian geneticists came into the open.

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and knew personally and even intimately many of the men whose names he read. Therefore, his denunciation was the more convincing:

> In that country . . . most of the main geneticists are . . . broken, executed, disgraced, not to be located, banished, imprisoned, fugitives, forced into other work, or in the mildest cases driven to such a reduction of their lines of research and publication as to give the appearance of working somehow in support of the doctrine approved by the officials. . . . All honor to the names who have suffered in this cause; to the heroic and tragic names of Nicolai Ivanovitch Vavilov, Philipchenko, Chetverikoff, Karpenchenko, Levit, Agol, Kerkis, Efroimson, Ferry, Serebrovsky, Levitsky and many others whom we will leave unnamed. (From presidential address, Eighth International Congress of Genetics, Stockholm, July 7, 1948)

This was not the first public statement by a well-known scientist concerning the relentless persecution by the Soviet government of a group of its own citizens for no other reason than that they have honestly observed and contributed to a great branch of biological science. But coming at an international congress, it has made the facts more generally known, and has had repercussions both in the Western world and in Russia—of which the newspaper sniping is the most obvious. One reaction was immediate, for at the next plenary session of the Congress, representatives from countries inside the Iron Curtain read a resolution dissociating themselves from the views of the President.

The reaction from inside the U.S.S.R. was not long in coming. It occurred at a meeting of the Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences on July 31, 1948. The presidential address by Academician Trofim Lysenko has recently been translated into English and published in this country. (*The Science of Biology Today*, by Trofim Lysenko, International Publishers, N.Y., 1948.) The result of this meeting as reported by the New York *Times* under a Moscow dateline of August 27, was that the Praesidium "sent a letter to Prime Minister Stalin reporting the decision to sweep out bourgeois biological thought from Soviet institutions," and blamed itself for having failed to make Russian thought and Russian biologists the accepted source of truth concerning genetics and evolutionary biology. The specific decisions effected a complete reorganization of

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the chief biological institutes, and the dismissal of all Soviet biologists who have worked in genetics as it is known outside Russia and have thus supported the "unscientific" and "idealistic" views of August Weismann, Gregor Mendel, and Thomas Hunt Morgan. So Schmalhausen and Dubinin were added to the list given by Muller, and the Institute of Evolutionary Morphology was closed.

Muller has elaborated his denunciation in an excellent article ("The Destruction of Science in the U.S.S.R.," *Saturday Review of Literature*, December 4 and 11, 1948.) In it he states that other sciences too have been restricted by the Soviet authorities, and that "the relativity theory narrowly escaped being condemned." But the conclusions of genetics appear to be in much more direct conflict with the primary tenets of Marxism, and they throw into question one of the minor Soviet assumptions that the social environment determines completely the character of men. So genetics is the first of the natural sciences to be suppressed.

II

Genetics is one of the newest fields in biology to be delimited, and for forty years it has been one of the most active. It has given a precise meaning to heredity by showing the mechanisms by which characters are transmitted from parents to offspring. It has distinguished between heritable variations and those non-inherited individual differences induced by the environment which were the stumbling blocks in Darwin's *Origin of Species*. The proofs of Darwinian evolution by natural selection may now be said to have been made available by genetic studies. Finally, in the practical fields of agriculture, applied genetics has furnished the theoretical basis for improvements in crop plants and farm animals by cross breeding and selection, of which the most striking recent development is the utilization of the increased yield of hybrid corn and garden vegetables.

Modern genetics began with the rediscovery of Mendel's long neglected work on heredity in 1900. Almost contemporaneously with Darwin, Gregor Mendel had shown for garden peas that each inherited character is determined by two interacting units, later called genes, and that every individual receives one of these from each parent. There are many such gene pairs, and one or the other

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member of each pair is passed into every male or female germ cell formed. Then, when fertilization occurs, the resulting individual is a new combination of the many segregating gene pairs. Since in the duplex condition one gene may be dominant and the other recessive, it is evident that offspring may receive two recessive members of any gene pair and so inherit qualities unlike either of their parents.

It was the distinctive contribution of one of the re-discoverers of the laws of heredity, the botanist De Vries, to suggest that new characters or mutations occur occasionally and that these are determined by spontaneously occurring changes in some one gene which is carried along as before. Thus the Mendelian scheme of heredity came to be joined with the mutation theory as the explanation of the origin of species in evolution.

Darwin believed that small individual differences could accumulate through successive generations to build up varietal or species divergence through natural selection. The assumption that these environmentally determined variations in size, weight or color could be passed on was brought into question by the work of the zoologist August Weismann, who showed that the germ cells of animals are separated from the body cells very early in development, and are largely insulated from the environmental agents affecting the body. A long line of specific experiments has borne out Weismann's contention that characters acquired by the action of the environment during the lifetime of the individual are not inherited. These experiments have run all the way from mutilations—cutting off the tails of mice for many generations (the young have tails)—to breeding flies for sixty-nine generations in the dark without effect on the eyes. Some have tested the effects on coat color of successive generations of rodents living on light or dark backgrounds, while others have investigated the inheritance of the behavior patterns of rats taught to do special tricks, all with final negative results.

Darwin recognized that some how such individual differences, if they are transmitted, must be impressed on the germ cells, and in *Animals and Plants under Domestication* tentatively suggested hypothetical units or pangenes, which must be carried from the various parts of the body to the germ cells, perhaps in the blood.

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Probably the most convincing demonstration that this is not true was made many years ago by Castle, and since frequently repeated. The ovaries of a white female guinea pig were removed and those from a black one grafted in their places. After recovery, the female was mated to a white male. The offspring were black, showing that the grafted ovaries retained their color genes unchanged, with no influence of the blood or tissues of the white female in which they were growing. Everywhere but in Russia biologists are agreed that Lamarckism, or the inheritance of acquired characters, has not been proved in a single unequivocal case. It is known, however, that mutations or gene changes do occur with a low but measurable frequency, and the characters they determine appear to produce variation in all directions. These spontaneous gene-determined variants are screened by natural selection, and over a period of time lead to evolutionary changes.

The most effective work in developing genetics to its present status as one of the most precise and verifiable branches of modern biological knowledge was done at Columbia University between 1910 and 1920 by T. H. Morgan and his co-workers Sturtevant, Bridges and Muller. This work rested especially on studies by their senior colleague, E. B. Wilson, who had already shown that contained in the nuclei of the germ cells of insects are tiny threads which stain readily, and were called chromosomes. These chromosomes are paired in all cells of the body, but are sorted out, one from each pair, to every germ cell. Thus they are the precise vehicles required to carry the Mendelian genes and distribute them as the Mendelian studies required. Morgan and his associates concentrated on the many mutations which appeared among the offspring of the fruit fly Drosophila. These were inherited, and their behavior in heredity was correlated with the distribution of particular chromosomes. Soon they were able to extend Mendel's laws of segregation of genes and assortment of gene pairs, to include two additional principles of heredity: namely, the linkage of genes into groups corresponding with the number of chromosome pairs, and the linear arrangement of each linked series within the chromosome.

These discoveries of modern genetics have been shown to have general application. Mendelian segregation and assortment, and

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Morganian linkage and chromosome maps of genes have been shown for such widely separated organisms as maize and wheat, and mice and men. Current views of genetics have been greatly influenced by the discovery by Muller in 1927 that X-radiation of the germ cells affects the genes and greatly increases the frequency of mutation. The widespread use of radiation has made available many more mutations for study or for practical uses. In addition, it has proved that an environmental agent may in fact accelerate the evolutionary process not by inducing genetic changes in a particular direction, but simply by furnishing more mutant genes to be screened out by Darwinian natural selection. The science of genetics has given a solid basis for the Darwinian principle of evolution by natural selection, but has eliminated the vague Lamarckian ideas held by Darwin as to the origin of the variants selected. (Cf. "Modern Views of the Evolution Theory," by T. H. Morgan, THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, 1935.)

During the first fifteen years of the Soviet regime, Russian biologists were among the most active exploiters of the newly established science of genetics. The past ten or more years of increasing persecution, climaxed by the recent official banning of genetic studies and the disgrace of geneticists who investigated "idealistic Mendelism-Morganism," has no explanation in the science itself. It appears to be due to a combination of ignorance of the genetic work of the past thirty years and suspicion of Mendel as a cleric; opportunism on the part of a scientific adventurer; but chiefly to the official decision that Marxist doctrine requires a different interpretation of heredity to which the scientific facts must be made to conform.

III

The current official viewpoint in the U.S.S.R. concerning organic evolution or Darwinism can best be summarized by quoting one or two sentences from Lysenko's recent summary:

> . . . when Darwin's teaching first made its appearance, it became clear at once that its scientific, materialist core, the teaching of the evolution of living nature, was antagonistic to the idealism that reigned in biology. (*The Science of Biology Today*, p. 12)

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We have to become accustomed to the use of materialism as connoting pro-Communist and idealism as connoting reactionary. This is common Marxist usage and follows the Feuerbach epistemology of dialectical materialism.

> Darwinism, as presented by Darwin, contradicted the idealistic philosophy, and this contradiction grew deeper with the development of the materialist teaching. Reactionary biologists [meaning Weismann, Mendel and Morgan] have therefore done everything in their power to empty Darwinism of its materialist elements. The individual voices of progressive biologists like K. A. Timiryazev were drowned out . . . [when] they took it upon themselves to defend Darwinism against the attacks of reactionaries, with the Church at their head, and of obscurantists in science, such as Bateson. (*Ibid.*, pp. 13, 12)

Without attempting to wade through the very labored reasoning, the idea which seems to emerge is that "reactionary biologists" have reinterpreted Darwinism as it was written, with its central idea of evolution by natural selection and all its vague suggestions and Lamarckian assumptions as to the origin of new variations. They have substituted a precise verifiable genetic system which removes the environment as a specific directive agent in variation or mutation. Marxist doctrine prefers to ignore this "formal" genetics, to accept the fact of evolution, and to build a set of hypotheses to explain it which are more in accord with its own basic assumptions. Even on the most sympathetic view, such a procedure clashes with accepted methods of science.

Darwin's *Origin of Species* brought about world-wide acceptance of the idea of organic evolution by suggesting a plausible mechanism by which it operated in nature. His argument emphasized variations among the individuals of any species, over-population according to the Malthusian scheme, and a struggle for existence. This led to natural selection of the fittest organisms as survivors. The process was believed to be progressive in that changes in parents might be exceeded in the offspring. The first and most essential condition was variation, and Darwin believed that all individual differences, whether caused by food, use or other environmental factors, were inherited and subject to selection. As already suggested, Weissmann and many others proved that these characteristics are not inherited,

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and the Mendelian studies showed that the genetically determined variants only are the raw materials for evolution. The environment, or man, does not exercise a directive influence on which mutations will appear, but does determine which will survive.

It might seem that the almost complete control which the orthodox genetic viewpoint allows would have satisfied the theorists of the U.S.S.R. But to admit that man cannot control even the direction of mutations appears to be considered a formalist and reactionary view. A letter from Engels is quoted:

> The entire Darwinian teaching on the struggle for existence merely transfers from society to the realm of living nature Hobbes's teaching on war of all against all and the bourgeois economic teaching on competition, along with Malthus' population theory. . . . The childishness of this procedure is obvious, and it is not worthwhile wasting any words on it. But if I were to dwell on this at greater length, I should have started out by showing that they are poor *economists* first, and only then that they are poor naturalists and philosophers. (*Ibid.*, p. 11)

The argument appears to be that the Malthusian doctrine is false for human populations, and cannot even be supposed to apply to plants and animals in natural conditions.

Lysenko cites Lenin's *The Teachings of Karl Marx* as suggesting the acceptable view:

> In our times the idea of development, of evolution, on the basis of Hegel's philosophy is much more comprehensive, more abundant in content, than the current (Darwinian) theory of evolution.

This evolution is apparently to be thought of as a process which goes on without the struggle for existence, by some sort of inward becoming, and subject to external or human guidance or control. Lenin continues:

> The great basic idea is that the world is not to be viewed as a complex of fully fashioned objects, but as a complex of processes, in which apparently stable objects. . . are undergoing incessant changes.

An attempt to make these ideas mean something in terms of a genetic

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system, and a guide to practical breeders of crop plants and animals, is the contribution of Lysenko and his collaborator, Prezent. A carefully analyzed account of their experiments, and claims based on their papers published in Russian, is given by Hudson and Richens (P. S. Hudson and R. H. Richens, *The New Genetics in the Soviet Union*, School of Agriculture, Cambridge, 1946).

Lysenko and other protagonists of the Soviet biological doctrine make much of the fact that among the active early supporters of Darwinism were several Russian biologists, notably K. A. Timiryazev (G. H. Beale, "Timiryazev, Founder of Soviet Genetics," *Discovery*, 1947, 159). He was a plant physiologist and professor at the University of Moscow who died in 1920. He recognized the importance of Darwin's work in 1864, and became the Russian counterpart of Huxley or Haeckel through the rest of his life. His book, *Charles Darwin and His Work*, went through many editions, the last in 1919. It is said to be mostly a series of polemics against opponents of the idea of evolution—as, for instance, Tolstoy.

Both in style and subject matter, his work fits well into the official doctrine. He was not a plant breeder and never made a crossing experiment. He reacted violently to Mendel's discoveries as recognized in 1900, chiefly because he thought they were against Darwinism (as he understood it) and clerical. Timiryazev lived to welcome the Bolshevik regime in a book called *Science and Democracy* (1920), for which he was officially thanked by Lenin. It is through Timiryazev that Darwin's ideas, untainted by the experiments of "idealistic" and formal genetics, have been brought to Russians of the present day.

The other dominant figure in current Soviet biological ideas is I. V. Michurin. His authority is based on a more solid body of genetic achievement than Timiryazev's, for he was an active and successful plant breeder. While his work is not known outside of Russia, he is said to have developed many useful varieties of plants, and introduced them to Russian agriculture. Like the American, Luther Burbank, whom he appears to have resembled, his results were secured by individual methods which can neither be codified nor repeated. He imported widely and made many crosses, using preferably pollen mixtures, and his grafting experiments utilized tricks of aging

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and placing which seem to be mumbo-jumbo. Apart from this, his results are in no way at variance with those secured by practical horticulturists in Western countries, and are susceptible of the same genetic determination. Michurin's own explanations, however, fit well with the doctrinal view required by the party. As quoted by Lysenko, he states:

> It is possible, with man's intervention, to force any form of animal or plant to change more quickly and in a direction desirable to man. (*Ibid.*, p. 32)

And further:

> As regards the theoretical line in biology, Soviet biologists hold that the Michurinian principles are the only scientific principles. . . . V. I. Lenin and J. V. Stalin discovered I. V. Michurin and made his teaching the possession of the Soviet people. (*Ibid.*, p. 48)

It is said that since Michurin's death in 1935 "a huge army of Michurin experimenters form the vanguard of socialist agriculture."

With this information as a background, the progress of T. D. Lysenko into the dominant place in Soviet genetics is easy to understand. Beginning as an agronomist in the late 1920's, with little genetic training but with a fervor for Marxist theory, he soon joined forces with a plant breeder, I. I. Prezent, who was an even more capable and an equally zealous dialectic philosopher. The collaboration of these two has resulted in a "theory of heredity" which is based on the Michurin idea noted above, and goes along with the philosophy required by Marx and Lenin. It brushes aside all of the careful and tested results of genetic work of the past forty years.

At the time of Lysenko's appearance, the director of the Institute of Genetics and the president of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences was Academician Nicolai Vavilov, an early student of Bateson in England, and a theoretical as well as practical geneticist of wide reputation. He was probably too highly thought of in England and America to avoid suspicion in his own country, for his book, *The Centers of Cultivated Plants*, was considered authoritative, and he had collected and brought home living specimens from

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all over the world. Vavilov was not a party member, but he was sympathetic with Soviet aims and believed the Soviet program offered unparalleled opportunities for the scientific development of genetics and agriculture. Under his direction the government supported widespread genetic investigations, and he with his co-workers made much progress with their own far-reaching plans for improving Soviet agriculture by crossing native plants with those from other parts of the world, testing the segregating offspring in various parts of Russia, and substituting the more successful combinations.

But Vavilov was a scientist and not a politician or philosopher. In 1935 and 1936 Lysenko and Prezent turned loose a series of attacks on him and his program, as well as the genetic ideas which he represented. Using all the tricks of the Communist agitator, they accused him of bowing slavishly before foreign science, and slowing up the production of agriculture in the U.S.S.R. The whole disgraceful story has been told by Dobzhansky (*Journal of Heredity*, August, 1947). Vavilov had been elected to the presidency of the Seventh International Congress of Genetics to be held at Edinburgh in 1939, but this only reacted further against him, and he was not allowed to attend. Following a conference on genetics at Moscow later in 1939, Vavilov was dismissed from his posts and the agitator Lysenko put in his place. In 1940 Vavilov was arrested as a British spy, and later sent to Siberia, where he died in 1942.

Since his accession to the dominant position in biological science and agriculture, Lysenko has relentlessly pressed his advantage, continuing to attack and to drive under cover his remaining capable opponents among Russian geneticists. As already indicated, the climax of his activities came at the meeting of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences, July 31, 1948. With his successes and all the force of Marxist philosophy behind him, it did not need Lysenko's statement in his concluding remarks to crush completely his remaining opposition:

> The question is asked in one of the notes handed to me what is the attitude of the Central Committee of the Communist Party to my report. I answer: The Central Committee of the Party examined my report and approved it. (*Ibid.*, p. 49)

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The pattern along which Soviet biology and genetics must develop in the future is indicated by Lysenko's definition: "Heredity is the property of a living body to require definite conditions for its life, its development, and to react definitely to those conditions."

IV

The paths along which investigations in evolutionary biology and in heredity must travel in the U.S.S.R. are so restricted as to make any sort of progress, whether theoretical or practical, extremely doubtful. All of the hard won facts of Western genetics are set aside, and a new start must be made from the point Darwin reached with *Animals and Plants under Domestication*. Chromosomes may be mentioned, but they have no distinctive significance as carriers of the genes of heredity. Lysenko says:

> . . . the plastic substances produced by the stock and the scion [in grafting], just as the chromosomes, and just as any particle of the living body, possess the characters of the strain, are endowed with definite heredity. (*Ibid.*, p. 38)

Since Lysenko and his group are in complete control, it seems inevitable that his subjects and his methods will be those cultivated by biologists whom the purge has left. The first of these is directed mutation by vernalization, with which Lysenko made his debut as a geneticist. This is the treatment of winter wheat with low temperature, after which it will mature earlier in the year. Applying Lysenko's general theory of Phasic Development, it could be assumed that such environmental treatment would effect permanent changes in the direction of earlier maturity. Although this type of experiment has been many times repeated, there is still no evidence of any changes beyond the generation treated. Indeed, available reports from the U.S.S.R. indicate no general utilization of stocks of cereals which have arisen through methods similar to vernalization.

The second method which is being extensively cultivated by the school of Lysenko is vegetation hybridization according to variations of the Michurin technique. Graft hybrids, formed by combination of tissues of two different plants, have been known for many years. They are sometimes valuable as vegetative stock, but they do

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not reproduce their intermediate characters by seeds. Lysenko, following Michurin, claims, however, that with proper treatment distinctive new varieties are formed, with various combinations of the characters of the parent strains. These are the famous tomato hybrids which have been discussed at length in the press. It is significant that in all these experiments either hybridity of the stock or failure to control crossing by chance pollination might give something like the results claimed. Haldane has suggested the possibility that a virus infection of either scion or stock might give such unusual results. In any case, similar work by plant breeders in other parts of the world has so far given no parallel facts. The work can hardly be exactly repeated without utilization of Lysenko's own tomato stocks. Possibly "the army of Michurin experimenters" may be able to turn up more plausible results.

If competent investigators are left in the U.S.S.R. after the latest Lysenko purge of geneticists, it will be of interest to see whether they can do work which is of value in spite of false premises and the very narrow limits set. It is more than likely that when the sterility of Soviet biology becomes obvious even to Soviet leaders, and perhaps the current cold war is over, the discovery will be made that a new interpretation of the Marxist guiding principles will allow renewed cultivation of "bourgeois genetics" and a return to "idealistic Darwinism."

The second of a pair of articles on labor leaders by Charles Madison (a condensed chapter from his forthcoming book, Labor's Progress: Unionization and Leadership), *originally announced for Summer, will be published in the Autumn number.*

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High Summer

Mary Atwater Taylor

The honey-locusts drip their golden scent.
The clematis seems whiter than before.
And peonies, their shaggy petals spent,
Star the tall timothy beside the door;
A droning dragon-fly on steel-blue wings
Hovers above the yellow marigold,
A laughing child beneath the pear-tree swings—
This is no place for blight or age or cold.

The high hay-wagon with its toppling load
Drops wisps of dust-gold straw along the trail,
And from the cattle-shed beyond the road
Echoes the tinkle of a milking pail,
While through the fresh-turned loam, moist, newly-hoed,
Moves the small progress of the slow-paced snail.

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Prudence of Canterbury

Edmund Fuller

THE TOWN of Canterbury lies in the eastern part of the state of Connecticut, in the county of Windham, on the Quinebaug River. Its population in modern times has hovered in the neighborhood of a thousand. I do not know what manner of town it is today, for I have not been there; but there is a rare, latter-day Canterbury tale about what manner of town it was in 1833. It was a *select* place, for one thing, and about and around Canterbury green were the fine houses of Connecticut worthies, particularly noted for their "public spirit and high character." Also upon the green was Miss Prudence Crandall's boarding school for young ladies, an adornment to the town—its pupils drawn from the leading families, its board of visitors from their parents.

Prudence Crandall was the daughter of a Quaker residing in the town. At thirty, she was comely in the austere way of her heritage and her times. Her portrait shows a strong, firm chin, a generous mouth, and luminous, quiet eyes. Only with benefit of hindsight does the portrait show the signs of dangerous determination.

She had a Negro girl as help, whose intended husband subscribed to Mr. Garrison's Abolitionist paper, the *Liberator*. The girl brought the paper into the house and Prudence read therein—a natural tinder for its spark. When Sarah Harris, the sister of the Negro maid's fiancé, expressed a desire to study, Prudence took her into her classes, willingly, although the girl lived at the home of her parents, outside the village.

No unfavorable reaction was apparent among the other pupils. In a few days, however, the wife of the Episcopal minister delivered the ultimatum that if the colored girl remained, the school could

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not be sustained. "Let it sink then," responded Prudence, "for I shall not turn her out."

The threat was promptly made good. A withdrawal of the white girls began. Prudence was swift in making a decision. She took her problem right to Mr. Garrison, explaining, "I made up my mind that if it were possible I would teach colored girls exclusively." Before the town could draw a deep breath, the Canterbury Female Boarding School had become an avowed school for "young ladies and little misses of color," with the whole force of the Garrisonian Abolitionists as voluntary enrollment agents.

It is scarcely exaggerating to say that the town blew up. "A school of nigger girls!" was the horrified report. And right on the green, at the southeast corner of the Norwich and Worcester turnpike, and the crossing of the Hartford and Providence turnpike! And directly opposite the handsome new house of State Attorney Andrew T. Judson!

A committee waited on Prudence: Esquire Frost, the big temperance man; Dr. Harris, the surgeon; Rufus Adams, and one Fenner. They counseled against the plan, and Esquire Frost, "in a most kind and affecting manner," cautioned the Principal against the awful dangers latent in "these leveling principles and inter-marriage between the whites and the blacks."

Prudence said, "Moses had a black wife."

The committee withdrew, the town seethed, and a public meeting was called for March 9. This, Prudence did not attend, being represented there by abolitionists Samuel J. May, from nearby Brooklyn (Connecticut), and Arnold Buffum. They had a special interest, for a similar affair had occurred two years before, in no less a place than New Haven, where the proposal to found a Negro college had been fiercely resisted and defeated with the battle cries: "A Negro college by the side of Yale College! . . . The City of Elms disgraced forever! . . . It must not and shall not be!"

Mr. May was alarmed lest "a second attempt to provide for the better education of our colored people be put down by popular clamor in New England (the land of schools)." Such an incident was always manna from Heaven to the embattled anti-slavery movement. Garrison proclaimed that Miss Crandall must be sustained at

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all costs. The internal affairs of the town of Canterbury were nothing to them. Right must triumph. And, conversely, the people of the town regarded their problem as aggravated by a vast invasion of alien forces using their community as a grindstone for somebody else's axe.

The town meeting produced resolutions denouncing the school, near violence to the persons of May and Buffum, and the designating of another committee authorized to buy back Miss Crandall's school building at her purchase price if she would abandon the project. Prudence countered by the proposal to move to some less conspicuous part of town. Here ensued deadlock.

School began. Fifteen or twenty quiet Negro girls from Philadelphia, New York, Providence, Boston and other Northern cities arrived and took up studies. Frenzy mounted. It was proclaimed "that the *establishment* or *rendezvous* falsely denominated a school was designed by its projectors as the *theatre*, as the place to promulgate their disgusting doctrines of amalgamation, and their pernicious sentiments of subverting the Union. Their pupils were to have been congregated here from *all quarters* under the false pretence of *educating them*, but really to SCATTER FIRE-BRANDS, *arrows and death* among brethren of our own blood."

The pauper and vagrant law was invoked and applied against one pupil, Ann Eliza Hammond of Providence, who, unless her maintenance were guaranteed, was ordered to depart the town or "be whipped on the naked body not exceeding ten stripes." The maintenance was guaranteed by a $10,000 bond. Again stalemate.

Now the townspeople laid siege. No dealer or storekeeper would sell any merchandise or produce to Miss Crandall. No physician would attend her. Refuse and manure were dumped into her well, and no neighbor would give so much as a glass of water. Ordure was smeared on the house. The stages would not carry her, or her pupils, or any visitor. The house was pelted with rotten eggs. The elder Crandall, a mild Quaker, terrified by threats directed against him, nevertheless brought water with the help of another Friend, and by one means and another the school was enabled to subsist: a small fortress.

Meanwhile the legislature prepared a strong bill, later called the

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Black Law, forbidding the setting up of any school for the education of colored persons who were not inhabitants of the state, with severe penalties for anyone aiding or abetting such an enterprise. Old Crandall presented an eloquent petition against the bill, invoking the Bill of Rights. State Attorney Judson, Prudence's neighbor, said to him gleefully: "Mr. Crandall, when you sent your printed paper to the General Assembly, you did not injure us; it helped very much in getting the bill through. When they received it every man clinched his fist, and the chairman of the committee sat down and doubled the penalty. Members of the legislature said to me, 'If this law does not answer your purpose, let us know, and next year we will make you one that will.' "

Canterbury hailed the legislation with a bell-ringing, cannon-firing celebration. Mr. Crandall was notified that he could visit his daughter only under penalty of a $100 fine the first time, $200 for the second, and double for every time thereafter. The same penalty was to apply to Prudence's mother, sister, and to any and all other persons.

On June 27, Prudence was brought before Justice Adams charged with violation of the new law. The facts were admitted, and no defense entered. The case was set for trial, and bond was specified. No one among her Abolition friends and counselors came forward with bond. The court was astounded. There was nothing for it but to put Prudence in jail.

This was done in neighboring Brooklyn. The jail was a one-cell affair which had just recently been occupied by a condemned murderer the night before his execution—a fact which made a horrifying impression on the public mind. Here a most reluctant sheriff led the prisoner to the cell door, while dismayed, angry and muttering people stood by, unable to check what they knew would rebound against them. It seems to have occurred to none of her foes to post bail as a way to get themselves out of a bad spot.

At the door, May said solemnly to Prudence, "If you now hesitate, if you dread the gloomy place so much as to wish to be saved from it, I will give bonds for you even now."

"Oh, no," said Prudence, "I am only afraid they will not put me into jail."

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Before hushed spectators, the cell door swung shut behind Prudence and a female companion who had been permitted to enter with her. The key was turned. Night was falling. Samuel May, with the art of a natural born propagandist, declaimed: "The deed is done, completely done. It cannot be recalled. It has passed into the history of our nation and our age."

Next morning they bailed her out.

Over to Plainfield, then, went Mr. May, with the pledge of money from the wealthy New York merchant, Arthur Tappan, in search of Charles C. Burleigh, another anti-slavery stalwart. He found Burleigh on a Sunday afternoon, toiling in the hayfield in an old shirt and pants, with a week's beard (he then believed in shaving, but later went bearded on principle). Come over into Macedonia and help us, May said, in effect: "This is more important than haying." Burleigh came, and with Tappan's money, began to issue from Brooklyn a little paper called the *Unionist*, solely in order that Prudence's cause should have at least one friendly public voice.

Two trials took place, Tappan bearing the legal costs for Prudence. On August 23, she was tried in the County Court, before the Honorable Joseph Eaton, with neighbor Judson as chief prosecutor. The indictment stated that Prudence had "with force and arms received into her school, and with force and arms instructed, certain colored girls. . . ."

The jury deliberated seven hours, and returned unagreed. They were further instructed and sent out, and twice more returned for instruction. Then they deadlocked—five for Prudence, seven against.

A new trial occurred on October 3, before Chief Justice Daggett of the Supreme Court, an advocate of the Black Law. He charged the jury against Prudence, and she was found guilty.

The verdict was then appealed to the Court of Errors, where Prudence won, in the limited sense that the State's case against her was quashed on grounds of "defective information," thus dodging the necessity for the Court to rule on the really important issue—the constitutionality of the law. This was in July of 1834.

All the while, the school, aided by abolitionists and members of Prudence's family, had persisted against the boycotts and harass-

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ments from the town. The Congregational church had barred them from worship, but they were received by the Friends' Meeting in Black Hill and the Baptist church at Packerville, "they being to occupy the back pews in the gallery near the door."

With the failure of the indictment, a new head of steam began to build within the town. Early in September, the house was set on fire in the night, but the flames were extinguished. Her enemies charged Prudence with firing it herself. Late on the evening of September 9, the school was surrounded silently by men armed with heavy iron bars. In a sudden concerted attack, without warning, every window in the house was beaten in.

The following morning it was clear that a night of terror had finally snapped the will of the little band of pupils and teachers to resist further. Samuel May was summoned. The decision was sadly announced. "Thus ended," May remarked in his memoirs, "the generous, disinterested, philanthropic Christian enterprise of Prudence Crandall." The town of Canterbury was left to savor a victory that had already begun to sour in the mouths of many of the citizens who had opposed Prudence.

Prudence, for her part, married a Baptist clergyman, the Reverend Calvin Philleo, and moved with him to Illinois. Many years later, a widow, she moved with a brother to southern Kansas, where, as late as 1885, she was known to continue her interest in the colored people.

It is a story which seemed to have ended in defeat. But not wholly. It was not by chance that Samuel May was able to open his account of the case, in later years, with the declaration: "Often, during the last thirty, and more often during the last ten years, you must have seen in the newspapers or heard from speakers in Anti-slavery or Republican meetings, high commendation of the county of Windham in Connecticut, as bearing the banner of equal human and political rights far above all the rest of that state. In the great election of the year 1866 the people of that county gave a large majority of votes in favor of Negro suffrage."

The historian of Windham County, Elizabeth Larned, summed it up sagely: "Miss Crandall did not succeed in teaching many colored girls, but she educated the people of Windham County."

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The Case of "*In re* Wren"

Malcolm Moos

AT HIGH noon one day in the spring of 1948, the United States Supreme Court solemnly convened to announce its decision on the Covenant cases. Presumably, an answer was to emerge from this meeting that would tell how much the Constitution permits an individual to say about the color and, perhaps indirectly, the religion, of the family that wants to move in next door or even into the same block. So deeply rooted was the problem presented by the Covenant cases that three judges—Jackson, Reed and Rutledge—disqualified themselves from taking part in the deliberations, ostensibly because they owned property, the disposal of which is restricted by the terms of a discriminatory covenant. By a vote of six to zero, the Court held that covenants barring Negroes or other racial groups from owning or living on property were legally unenforceable. The ruling did not, however, disturb restrictive covenants which are voluntarily enforced, much to the distress of those who have long opposed this discriminatory practice. Moreover, although the decision has been rightfully acknowledged as an important precedent, it has an even more remarkable prelude—the case of "*In re* Wren" decided by the Supreme Court of Ontario, in November, 1945.

The facts of "*In re* Wren" are simple. Drummond Wren owned land under a deed that bound him, his assigns and heirs, not to sell to "Jews or persons of objectionable nationality." By special leave he was permitted to bring an action to have this restrictive covenant declared void before the Supreme Court of Ontario. Had the Court outlawed the practice complained of in "*In re* Wren" by mooring its

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decision to the vaguest judicial or legislative precedent, it would have caused a mild ripple in legal circles—but it was more unorthodox. Not only was the restrictive covenant held void, but in declaring against it, the Court found the practice to be contrary to public policy, which it rested squarely upon a tripod composed of the United Nations Charter, the Atlantic Charter, and two Provincial statutes. Moreover, the fact that the Court looked first to the United Nations Charter for an expression of Ontario's public policy is a circumstance that compels attention, if for no other reason than that it marks a bold stride in the growth of international law.

"It is a well recognized rule," said Mr. Justice McKay, who wrote the decision of "*In re* Wren," "that courts may look at various Dominion and Provincial Acts and public law as an aid in determining principles relative to public policy. . . . First and of profound significance is the recent San Francisco Charter, to which Canada was a signatory, and which the Dominion Parliament has now ratified."

The decision of Justice McKay declaring void a restrictive covenant which stipulated that a certain parcel of land not be sold to "Jews or persons of objectionable nationality," is, of course, reviewable by the Supreme Court of Canada. Thus far, however, no appeal has been taken to the high Court of the Dominion.* (See p. 318)

Admittedly, the Canadian judge who wrote the decision of "*In re* Wren" was watching for an opportunity to strike down restrictive real estate covenants. In many respects he faced a situation analogous to the mechanic who wishes to solder steel onto brass but does not have the proper flux. And—to judge from some of the criticism already expressed over his decision—the soldering job that he accomplished may be too weak to stand the strain. Yet, while one may quarrel with Justice McKay's methods—as many have—his results stand as a laudable precedent for guiding other judges who have been courting the opportunity to serve as the morticians or pallbearers of the restrictive covenant.

Early in the decision of "*In re* Wren," Justice McKay examines statements of two eminent American jurists—Holmes and Cardozo—on the function of judges in molding the growth of law. He cites with

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approval Cardozo's statement that, "law, like the traveler, must be ready for the morrow. It must have a principle of growth." In the wake of this authority, Justice McKay plants his own justification for extending the margins of law. "While courts and eminent judges," he says, "have . . . warned against injecting new heads of public policy, I do not conceive that I would be breaking new ground were I to hold the restrictive covenant impugned in this proceeding to be void as against public policy."

Just what does constitute "breaking new ground" in the growth of law is difficult to tell. Unquestionably much that passes as novelty represents an attempt to serve old values under conditions so changed that mere reliance upon existing statutory rules would lead us astray. In the instant case it seems reasonable to assume that it was the latter desire which prompted Justice McKay to canvass what might be regarded as unfamiliar sources in his effort to define public policy.

For the cornerstone of this public policy, Justice McKay extracts from Articles 1 and 55 of the United Nations Charter, which require Canada as a signatory to promote "universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion." Next he draws upon the Atlantic Charter, which pledges Canada to observe the principles of freedom from fear and freedom of worship. To complete the edifice of public policy, he cites the Racial Discrimination Act of 1944 and the Insurance Act of 1937—both laws enacted by the Provincial Legislature of Ontario.

It will be observed that in seeking to justify his decision against the restrictive covenant, Justice McKay finds the basis for his judgment in laws which lie on quite different levels. The United Nations Charter has been ratified; the Atlantic Charter has not. Judicial usage in respect to the United Nations Charter, however, is not yet established either in Canada or the United States, both of whom have ratified the Charter. Thus, in drawing upon the United Nations Charter to help define public policy, the learned Justice is, in one sense, "breaking new ground."

Insofar as local law is concerned in this case, the question is one of applicability. The Racial Discrimination Act makes it illegal to

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publish or display anything that discriminates against a person on the grounds of race or creed, while the Insurance Act makes it unlawful for an insurance company to discriminate in risks because of race or religion. Just how the restrictive covenant of "*In re* Wren" violates the Racial Discrimination Act is highly conjectural, and this argument—as one writer expressed it in a Canadian law journal—appears "hopelessly weak." Likewise, the Insurance Act, although suggestive of a move against intolerance, does not seem specifically applicable to the restrictive covenant. The substance of public policy, therefore, was quarried from international compacts rather than domestic legislation.

To dispel further doubt over the international content in the structure of Ontario's public policy, Justice McKay seeks to mortice the joints by quoting eminent statesmen. "This conclusion," he asserts, "is reinforced if reinforcement is necessary, by the wide official acceptance of international policies and declarations frowning upon the type of discrimination which the covenant would seem to perpetrate." Without question, the several quotations gleaned from speeches of Churchill, Roosevelt and De Gaulle decrying the persecution of the Jews, would be classified as *obiter dicta* by the legal profession. But in passing it should be noted that when judicial usage with respect to the Charter becomes established either in Canada or the United States, and the Charter, like a treaty, is regarded as belonging to the law of the land, then the utterances of statesmen who helped to formulate it ought to have the position in judicial interpretation now accorded to "legislative history." It might also be remarked that where law is the expression of public policy, it is well settled both in Canada and here that its meaning is not to be found by an exclusive reliance upon statutory interpretation. Therefore, Justice McKay's actions in consulting the sources he did were by no means as unorthodox as they might appear to the layman.

Canadian response to the decision of "*In re* Wren" has been mixed. It was enthusiastically acclaimed by the Toronto *Globe and Mail* as a decision that set a noble precedent and one which "moved forward substantially the achievement of the social equality of mankind." Some professional comment also gave the decision a friendly nod.

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"The points which make the case interesting," notes one commentator in the Saskatchewan *Bar Review*, "are the straightforward manner in which the judge embarked on a new field of public policy, and the sources which he quoted for his authority on what public policy was." Elsewhere, particularly among bar journals and law review, "*In re* Wren" has drawn sharp fire. "The mere fact that there are no precedents to guide us," notes one caustic critic, "might be taken as a pretty fair indication that the tacit conclusion of mankind for some two thousand years had been against the decision reached or the point would have been raised before." To the mind untutored in the vagaries of Blackstone, the objections voiced on grounds of flimsy legal reasoning may or may not appear persuasive, but the exceptions taken on broader philosophical grounds will assuredly spark strong rejoinders.

While conceding that the restrictive covenant is an "undesirable thing," several legal writers commenting on "*In re* Wren" shoot at the "erroneous premise" upon which the case is said to be based—that a social equality of mankind can be attained. What they seem to be saying is reminiscent of the comparison a critic once made between Wagner and Brahms. In the case of Wagner, said the critic, his music sounds better than it is, whereas the composition of Brahms is better than it sounds. This is precisely the fear expressed in the post-mortems on "*In re* Wren"—that the acoustical effects of the decision have a liberal ring which is superficially pleasing to our ears.

Actually, of course, the carping over the decision of "*In re* Wren" on the ground that social equality is unattainable begs the question. The real issue is not whether such equality can or cannot be attained, but rather whether the law, by sanctioning discrimination, should assist in making it more unattainable. Judged in this light, one may hardly deny that law which protects the restrictive covenant makes the road toward social equality far more difficult. Moreover, the writers who insist upon a strict legal derivation for the basis of the judgment—which most of the critics appeared to be arguing for—cannot with propriety indulge so broad an argument as that equality among men is unattainable.

The most explosive charge against the case was detonated by an anonymous contributor to the *Fortnightly Law Journal*, published

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in Toronto. "We can safely start," says this writer, "with the axiom that the Lord created mankind with varying potentialities, endowments and attributes. . . . There are differences in individuals, in strains of blood, in races, that cannot be overcome by any education or environment." This writer disposes of the Christian tradition by acknowledging that the Bible enjoins us to "love one another," yet "nowhere does it say that we should love one another equally." And, in the same spirit he drags out the old saw, "The Lord gave us our relatives, but we can still choose our friends." Sharpening the focus of his argument, he siphons a few words from the memoirs of A. J. Nock:

> The only logical attitude consistent with liberty, as A. J. Nock says, is "If I choose to associate with Negroes and they choose to have me do so, whatever the terms of the association may be, I am within my rights and so are they. If I insist on other Negroes forming like associations, I exceed my rights; if Negroes insist on others of my race forming them, they exceed their rights."

"And," our law review contributor hastens to append, " if governments and courts likewise so insist, they exceed their rights."

That the views expressed above may appear Machiavellian is readily conceded, but the writer is adamant in his belief that intolerance cannot be filed down by laws or courts. "Laws are only good," he says, "when they are capable of being enforced." Applying this test to what he erroneously conceives to be the rule of "*In re* Wren"—"that a man has nothing to say about who his neighbors are"—he forecasts certain failure for his attempt to overthrow the restrictive covenant.

It is true that intolerance cannot be pulled down by the courts, but surely it does not follow that it should be sanctioned by courts. With the conclusion that a law needs the spiritual backing of a community to be successful there can be partial agreement. Yet, the law can be—and is—a positive force in the spiritual advancement of a community. Certainly laws which seek to expedite this advancement need not await the unanimous blessing of a community before being put into effect. The fallacy of trying to legislate decency or homogenize social relations by law is well known, but

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in their attacks on "*In re* Wren" several of the legal metaphysicians have worn this argument threadbare.

In assailing what he misinterprets to be the rule of "*In re* Wren"—"that a man has nothing to say about who his neighbors are"—here again the critic deftly dodges the issue. The question posited by the restrictive covenant is not that of selecting one's neighbors, but rather of the conditions under which strangers may elect to become one's neighbors. Rarely indeed, does the individul select his neighbors. Location, price and innumerable other factors play a part in determining who moves in next door, and it is the exceptional individual who can actually "select" his neighbors. But the imposition of conditions that bar strangers from electing to become one's neighbors is quite a different matter. Here the unmasked motive is the systematic exclusion of particular minority groups, and assuredly it is not a question of protecting the individual's right to "select" his neighbors.

In the United States, each of the four Covenant cases decided by the Supreme Court in May, 1948, involved Negroes who had purchased homes on land encumbered by restrictive covenants, and had been compelled to move when their neighbors resorted to legal action. But in filing its brief on the cases, the American Civil Liberties Union noted that restrictive covenants covered 40 to 80 per cent of the residential areas in the North and West, and were directed against particular creeds as well as races. Thus, this discriminatory device has evidenced steady growth, and despite the ruling of our highest appellate court that restrictive covenants are not legally enforceable, the fact that they can still be made leaves the fundamental question undecided.

Yet on many fronts the restrictive covenant is meeting resistance. Following the decision of the United States Supreme Court, which was limited to covenants based upon race or color, the Department of Justice stated that in its opinion the holding of the Court also applies to covenants based upon creed. Also in line with the Supreme Court's ruling is a decision of the Maryland Court of Appeals last spring holding that a restrictive covenant banning the sale of property to anyone of "Negro, Chinese, or Japanese descent," cannot be enforced by the courts.

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For those who feel that the attack on restrictive covenants through the courts is disappointingly slow because the courts refuse to disturb voluntary agreements not to dispose of property to specified minority groups, perhaps a more brusque technique might be remarked. The Mayor of Austin, Texas, has taken the "short way with restrictive covenants" by notifying the various municipal departments that their services were not to be made available in areas so restricted. Justification assigned for this action is that city services are paid for by the tax incomes collected from all the people; therefore, they are not available to a self-elect privileged group.

In the war of attrition against the restrictive covenant, the distinguishing mark of "*In re* Wren" lies in its unique approach to one of the more critical social problems of our times. As a judicial precedent, it stands quite alone both in and outside of Canada. Yet it may well serve as a roadmarker for subsequent and perhaps more important decisions that seek to internationalize human rights. Beyond the urgency of an issue that required settlement lies the durable reason for giving "*In re* Wren" more than perfunctory attention—the continuity of international law. Without apology, the judge who wrote the decision of "*In re* Wren" screwed up the wick in the lamp of international law another notch. His decision settled a question of local concern, but it did more. It is the kind of decision for international law that would meet the test of Henry Stimson: "the moral judgments case by case of the civilized nations of the world." That some misgivings over the unforeseeable results of a decision like "*In re* Wren" are well founded must be admitted. Yet there is an ever growing feeling that the restrictive covenant should be buried. It is also apparent that the force of social conscience is gradually pushing it down. From the varied responses to the decision of "*In re* Wren," however, it appears that the demise of the restrictive covenant is still "shore dimly seen," and like T. S. Eliot's prophecy for the world, will end "not with a bang but a whimper."

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*Late in 1948, however, Mr. Justice Schroeder, also of the Supreme Court of Ontario, held that a restrictive covenant at a summer resort forbidding sale of land to Jews was valid [*Re Noble and Wolf*, 1948, O.R. 579]. While the cases are distinguishable, the latter judgment—which is now on appeal—expresses disagreement with Justice McKay on the question of public policy.

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A Modest Appraisal

John J. Maloney

ONCE in every decade or so a new talent burgeons, wild and flaming as a poppy—a talent so fresh, so robust, so bountiful in its blossoming, that to become (through the medium of a review) even one of the lesser husbandmen of its cultivation fills one with a renewed awareness of the potential dignity of the critic's function.

Such a talent has appeared with the publication (in an otherwise shoddy anthology) of "Snap Your Toes," a poem by Deirdre Denise Darleen Dunn.

It is with some trepidation that I approach the task of analyzing this poem, for it is so delicately wrought, so precisely balanced, that to lay upon it hands calloused from contact with the literary carpentry of the day is to risk marring that delicacy and disturbing that balance.

The poem is so short—a quatrain merely—that I shall quote it in its entirety:

> Snap your toes; snap your toes;
> Da Dee Dum Da and round she goes,
> And where she stops nobody knows,
> Except the ghost of Major Bowes.

At a first cursory reading this poem might appear, even to the sophisticated, to be a mere scrap of doggerel. But subjected to close textual analysis, it proves to be a most subtle and devastating commentary on our way of life. The multi-named Miss Dunn here demonstrates to the discerning that she is aware—penetratingly aware—of the tawdry allegiances and decadent follies of twentieth-century man.

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One need scarcely comment here on the Freudian overtones implicit in Miss Dunn's choice of the toes to illustrate her meaning. Too many critics, more learned than I, have written dissertations on the toe, particularly the big toe, as a symbol of sexual frustration in the female. I could not (nor would I) in so brief an exegesis as this, attempt to unravel the devious skeins of Miss Dunn's use of the subconscious. Suffice it to say that, like every truly great poet, Miss Dunn has adopted for her own use the ancient and universal imagery of primitive man, in which each primary organ of the human body is given a cosmic significance. Yet, even in the handling of these timeless metaphors, Miss Dunn has presented us with something new. For she has disdained the use of such anatomical clichés as the heart, the eye, or the genitalia, and has chosen rather the toes, the earthy dusty toes, the—so to speak—proletarian toes.

What Miss Dunn has accomplished here, in effect, has been to wrench a popular concept out of joint. In place of what we expect, the snapping of the fingers, we get a startling and daring inversion, the snapping of the toes. With what austere economy of phrase does this brief and brilliant line epitomize the essentially ambivalent nature of this irresolute age. "The time is out of joint," says Hamlet, and Miss Dunn does but echo him. Indeed, if a witticism were here not only impertinent, but even—may one venture—irreverent, could not one say with Miss Dunn that the toes are out of joint?

And what of the nails of the toes, or—as they are more popularly called—the toenails? They are not mentioned in the verse, they are there only by implication; but surely it takes only a slight exercise of the imaginative power to realize that Miss Dunn intends that we see them, and moreover that we see them as a modern counterpart of the immemorial symbol of the Phoenix. Think for a moment of the nails of the toes, which, like the nails of the fingers, continue to grow long after the body has been consigned to cold and unregenerate clay. Can anyone fail to see that what the poet intends here is a triumphant statement of her belief in man's immortality? I do not think so.

Of course, any serious student of poetry cannot overlook Miss Dunn's well-nigh infallible ear. To do so would be to proclaim one's own insensibility to tone. I think it may safely be said that

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never have we had a poet more sensitive to the delicate musical nuances of our language than is Miss Dunn. She uses words much as a composer uses notes, so that in reading her work one is constantly haunted by distant echoes of great music. At one moment it will be the happy dazzling brilliance of Mozart, at another it will be the lean spare austerity of the later Stravinsky, and in the great climactic passages we can hear the clenched hammerfist of Beethoven pounding in our ears.

I shall cite but one example of what I like to call Miss Dunn's "verbal orchestration." In the exquisite opening line of the poem, we have the short vowel-sound of the verb "snap" followed almost immediately by the long vowel-sound of the noun "toes." What better way to suggest the desperate dilemma with which our present society is faced (indeed, its very dichotomy), than to have the short "a" on the one hand challenged immediately by the long "o" on the other? The noun and the verb are at odds in the poem, even as are the East and the West in the modern world, and language itself is here made to suffer the anguish of contemporary man, torn between his sense of guilty compassion and his poignant knowledge of aggression.

The cryptic line "round she goes and where she stops nobody knows" will undoubtedly be interpreted in as many ways as the poem has readers. Each will read his own cherished meaning into it in accordance with his particular orientation. And none will be disappointed, for Miss Dunn speaks a universal language. To some the line will conjure up a vision of our feud-scarred planet, groping toward extinction, spinning ever more slowly through the cold and sterile void; to others it will represent a wistful harking back to the medieval cosmology of the spheres; and there are still others (among them myself) who will see this single line as a critique in capsule of the unanchored modern mind, spinning dizzily, bewildered by its own precocity, squandering its last penny's worth of reason for one final frenzied whirl on the gaudy carrousel named destruction.

The last line is the most startling one in the poem, if not in all poetry. Here Miss Dunn blends the popular and the grotesque with the traditional device of the ghost. The result is electrifying. It

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would be presumptuous to attempt to dissect this line and unearth all its layers of meaning in one paragraph. I shall be content to limit myself to its obvious implications. The ghost, of course, represents the murdered potentialities of America returning to plague the murderers. (One has only to think of Banquo's ghost to realize Miss Dunn's intent.) Extremely significant, I think, is the fact that it is the ghost, and the ghost only, who knows "where she stops." In other words, what the poet is saying to us here is that it is not until we are dead that we can understand why we lived.

Nor does the fact that our present society has fallen into the grasp of the military escape Miss Dunn. (Note that she calls him "Major" and not "Mister.") Relatedly, and finally, I might add that she evokes in us an envious admiration for her unerring choice of a figure which will incarnate all the garish tinsel values of today. This Bowes was an impresario, a sort of lesser P. T. Barnum. In short, he was a promoter; and surely the promoter (along with the movie star, the baseball player, the crooner, *the five-star general,* and the advertising executive) has become one of the colossi of our corroded culture.

It will be obvious to the astute (even on the basis of so superficial an analysis) that with Miss Dunn's appearance in print we are vis-à-vis with a major development in the poetic art. She has taken to herself all that is genuine in contemporary poetry, and has rejected all that is ephemeral. Here we encounter none of those facile and glittering feats of legerdemain with which Mr. Auden is wont to dazzle us; here the sere and withered offshoots of symbolism which benumb the work of Mr. Eliot have been pruned away; and, although Miss Dunn herself is of Celtic origin, we find here no flabby indulgence in murky crepuscular mysticism in the manner of Yeats. What is more important, in breaking away from the influence of these major figures, she has broken the dominance in the field of poetry of their host of hollow and untalented imitators. With the emergence of Miss Dunn's talent into the light of belated recognition, our own Parnassian era is at an end.

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American Scholar Forum . . .

COMMUNISM AND ACADEMIC FREEDOM

In this number, the FORUM *is devoted to the general question of academic freedom and political affiliations—with especial reference to the Communist Party. Because the recent case at the University of Washington has focused national attention upon this question, the* FORUM *begins with a factual résumé of this case, followed by statements by the President of the University of Washington and the three dismissed professors. Then follow four essays representing differing points of view on the general subject. (Editor)*

Factual Resumé of the University of Washington Case

IN OCTOBER, 1948, the Committee on Tenure and Academic Freedom of the faculty of the University of Washington opened its hearings on the cases of six professors whom the administration, in the person of the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, had asked to be discharged. Charges against the six had been filed after a state legislative committee had conducted an investigation into Communist activities on the Washington campus. When the faculty committee closed its hearings in December, its majority recommended to President Raymond B. Allen that one professor, Ralph H. Gundlach, of the Department of Psychology, be dismissed, and that the remaining five be retained.

President Allen subsequently recommended to the Board of Regents that Mr. Gundlach, Joseph Butterworth of the Department of English, and Herbert J. Phillips of the Department of Philosophy be dismissed. He recommended that two of the remaining three be retained, and disqualified himself from judgment of the case against the third professor, because of his own participation in an incident relevant to that case.

In January, the Board of Regents dismissed Mr. Butterworth, Mr. Phillips and

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Factual Source: *Communism and Academic Freedom: The Record of the Tenure Cases at the University of Washington.* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1949.

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Mr. Gundlach, as of February 1, and probationed E. Harold Eby and Garland Ethel, both of the Department of English, and Melville Jacobs, of the Department of Anthropology, for a two-year period, subject to their signing and filing with President Allen non-Communist affidavits.

The Committee on Tenure and Academic Freedom is a trial committee of eleven members elected by the faculty. It hears cases involving the dismissal of faculty members for one or more of the following reasons: (1) incompetency, (2) neglect of duty, (3) physical or mental incapacity, (4) dishonesty or immorality, and (5) conviction of a felony involving moral turpitude. Eight of the eleven members, together with the six accused professors, agreed that dismissal was not authorized for any cause other than the five listed. Three committee members and the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences —the complainant—claimed that so limited an interpretation of the tenure code was not valid, and that the five causes were listed only for illustrative purposes.

Six charges were originally placed against Mr. Butterworth and Mr. Phillips. Later all but one—that of membership in the Communist Party, U.S.A.—were withdrawn. Both men admitted in the committee hearings that they had been Party members since 1935.

Five members of the committee, though they conceived their ultimate function to be the interpretation of the tenure code, declared their belief that the Communist Party, U.S.A., is an organization which (1) tolerates no publicly-announced internal differences on points of fundamental doctrine, (2) is founded upon and adheres to the philosophies of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, (3) advocates the overthrow of the capitalistic system and the installation of a one-party socialistic form of government, (4) has many leaders who would not refuse to further party aims by violence, should the opportunity present itself, (5) follows—whether by virtue of dictation or automatic imitation—the Soviet and world Communist programs, (6) does not permit compromise with any other political party, except as a temporary expedient, and (7) subscribes wholly to the Marxian concept of the eventual issuance of a classless Utopia with economic equality for all, after communism has been triumphant throughout the world and the capitalist class liquidated. They emphasized that since the committee was not a policy-making body and could not legitimately enlarge on the list of five offenses given in the tenure code, their task was to determine whether membership in the Communist Party alone could be evidence of incompetency, neglect of duty, or dishonesty or immorality. (These they considered to be the only three causes in the tenure code's list of five which were pertinent to the cases.) They found Mr. Butterworth and Mr. Phillips not guilty on these three counts.

Three other members of the committee, while joining in the recommendation that Mr. Butterworth and Mr. Phillips be retained, took exception to the pertinence and validity of the majority's characterization of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

Dissenting were the three remaining committee members, who did not believe that the tenure code should be so literally interpreted, and who found that Mr. Butterworth and Mr. Phillips were, by virtue of their membership in the Communist Party, incompetent and therefore deserving of dismissal.

The majority of five stated that they did not join the three dissenters because the dissenters' recommendation for dismissal involved a policy-making function beyond the bounds of the committee, as they construed those bounds. They indicated that the formulation of such a policy by an empowered body—the faculty, the President, the Board of Regents, or the state legislature —seemed to them advisable. The other three members who recommended retention of Mr. Butterworth and Mr. Phillips challenged the majority's authorization to recommend the formulation of such a policy.

President Allen, in recommending that Mr. Butterworth and Mr. Phillips be dismissed, took issue with the eight committee members who defined incompetence as inadequacy in a chosen field of scholarship. He held that the term applied to "any action, condition, or attitude which interferes

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with the proper and adequate performance" of the duties of a teacher. He also held that those in the academic professions are subject to higher duties than other men. Stating that since five committee members had joined in making the seven-point declaration on the nature of the Communist Party, and three others had recommended membership as grounds for dismissal, President Allen concluded that eight of the eleven committee members had rendered "a severe indictment of the nature and characteristics of the Communist Party, U.S.A." He noted further that, though they did not recommend dismissal, five committee members agreed "in policy" with the three who did recommend dismissal and that they cited the need for a clarification of university policy on "this vexed subject." He did not think that the tenure code required enlargement, but recommended dismissal of Mr. Butterworth and Mr. Phillips within the "generally accepted meaning" of the code, saying:

> I recommend that the Board hold with the minority that respondents Butterworth and Phillips are disqualified from membership on the faculty of the University of Washington on the ground that they are members of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and, until these proceedings, kept this fact secret, and therefore are unfit for faculty membership. In these proceedings it has been adequately proved, in my opinion, that they are incompetent, that they are intellectually dishonest, and that they have neglected their duties as members of the faculty.

Though Mr. Gundlach was charged with being a member of the Communist Party, he denied this charge in committee hearings. None of the eleven committee members found conclusive evidence that he was a member. All of them did concede that Mr. Gundlach had been neglectful of his duty as a faculty member when, in a conference with President Allen prior to the campus investigation by the state legislature committee, he declined to deny or affirm his membership in the Communist Party, despite President Allen's request that he do so. Four committee members declared that this incident of neglect of duty, combined with his previous differences with the University administration and his inadequate testimony before the committee, warranted a recommendation for Mr. Gundlach's dismissal. Four members considered his previous difficulties with the administration and his conduct before the committee irrelevant to the case, and recommended that the incident wherein he was neglectful of his duty was not sufficient ground for recommending Mr. Gundlach's dismissal. One member believed that he had been proved to be not only neglectful of his duty but incompetent as well, and recommended his dismissal on two charges. Two members recommended that Mr. Gundlach be dismissed "by reason of his ambiguous relationship with the Communist Party, by reason of his breach of duty as a faculty member, and his tendency toward forensic rather than scientific research."

President Allen was therefore in agreement with seven of the eleven committee members when he recommended Mr. Gundlach's dismissal to the regents. He disqualified himself from judgment of the neglect-of-duty incident in which he was involved, but rather recommended dismissal on the same grounds as those just quoted.

The entire committee recommended that the tenure of Mr. Eby, Mr. Ethel, and Mr. Jacobs remain undisturbed. President Allen joined in the recommendation regarding Mr. Eby and Mr. Ethel, but disqualified himself from judging Mr. Jacobs' case. All three men had admitted past membership in the Communist Party, but stated that they had resigned in 1946, 1941, and 1945, respectively. Mr. Jacobs had originally told President Allen that he had never been a Party member, but later stated that his denial has been on the advice of counsel. While the committee and President Allen deplored Mr. Jacobs' falsification, they did not feel that it warranted a recommendation for dismissal.

The Board of Regents did not dismiss Mr. Eby, Mr. Ethel, or Mr. Jacobs. It did place them on two-year probation and order them to sign and file with President Allen affidavits that they are not now members of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and have not been since the respective dates of their resignations.

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Statements by the President and the Dismissed Professors

Raymond B. Allen

BECAUSE they face squarely the central issue of the effect of Communist Party membership on the qualifications of a teacher, the cases of Dr. Phillips and Mr. Butterworth are important to the purpose of this discussion.

It will be recalled that Phillips and Butterworth, at the beginning of the faculty committee hearing, admitted past and present membership in the Communist Party and that, with this admission, the University administration dropped other charges for the purpose of having a clear-cut case. The other cases, it will be noted, do involve other complaints and, therefore, deviate somewhat from the clear issue of Party membership.

Two points need special emphasis before I attempt to discuss the central argument on the effect of Party membership on qualification for the teaching profession. First, it should be repeated that action was taken in these cases only after a full and scrupulously fair hearing, conducted in accordance with traditional safeguards against summary and capricious action by either the University President or the Board of Regents. While no attempt will be made here to review these procedures, it should be understood that "due process," as outlined by the faculty-written Administrative Code of the University of Washington, was observed to the letter. Respondents were represented by counsel of their own choice; there was no restriction upon their rights of producing or questioning evidence; and other traditions of Anglo-Saxon law were fully observed. Full hearings were provided by all individuals and agencies participating in the decision. No complaint has been heard from any informed quarter that the procedure was a "witch hunt" or an infringement of any basic American right.

Second, it should be re-emphasized that the Regents' action in dismissing Phillips and Butterworth was not in contradiction to the finding of the faculty committee which first heard the case. This re-emphasis is necessary because the impression has been encouraged in some quarters that the faculty committee's findings were entirely disregarded by the President and the Board of Regents in their decision. This is distinctly not the case.

The committee's findings in the Phillips and Butterworth cases consisted of four minority opinions. Three members of the eleven-member committee, in two opinions, recommended directly that Phillips and Butterworth be dismissed; three others recommended in a joint opinion that they be retained on the University faculty. The fourth minority opinion, signed by the five other members of the committee, while it did not directly recommend dismissal, did clearly state its agreement as a matter of policy with the opinions recommending severance and explained its failure to join in the recommendation on the ground that its members "would thereby assume a policy-making function beyond our powers." This minority group of five (making a majority of eight of the eleven members of the committee) went on to say: "We believe that it is time that a policy be laid down by some competent authority, whether it be the faculty as a whole, the President, the Regents, or the Legislature, so as to put this vexed subject upon a basis that cannot be misunderstood."

Thus, the majority committee finding was that Communist Party membership is disqualifying for a teacher and that a policy to this effect should be established by the University. The recommendations of the President and the action by the Board of Regents did establish a policy as suggested by the committee majority.

The reasoning upon which dismissal action was taken in these two cases has been better stated by others perhaps than it was

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in the recommendations that resulted from the Washington faculty committee hearings. Recommended reading on the subject are Professor Sidney Hook's excellent article, "Should Communists Be Permitted to Teach?" in the New York *Times Magazine* of February 27, 1949; John L. Childs's contribution, "Communists and the Right to Teach," in the *Nation*, February 26, 1949; and C. W. de Kiewiet's article, "Academic Freedom Today," in the *Educational Record*, October, 1948.

These fine answers to the questions raised by the Communist faculty member could be quoted at length and to the great good of many members of the academic profession, but because of limitations of space a more succinct statement will be attempted here.

A member of the Communist Party should not be permitted to teach in an American college because he is not a free man. If the purpose of education is to seek out and to teach the truth wherever it may lead, as Jefferson taught, then the first duty and obligation of the teacher is that he be a free man. Any restraint upon the teacher's freedom is an obstacle to his performance of his highest scholarly functions. But the teacher's freedom consists of something more than an absence of restraints placed upon him by the institution that employs him. It demands as well an absence of restraints placed upon him by his political affiliations, by dogmas that stand in the way of a free search for truth, or by rigid adherence to a "party line" that sacrifices dignity, honor and integrity to the accomplishment of political ends. Men, and especially the teacher and the scholar, must be free to think and discover and believe, else there will be no new thought, no discovery, and no progress. But these freedoms are barren if their fruits are to be hidden away and denied. Men must be free, of course, but they must also be free, and willing, to stand up and profess what they believe so that all may hear.

It is obvious that the Communist Party does not allow its members this freedom. As a member of the Party, a man cannot be free; he is a slave to immutable dogma and to a clandestine organization which masquerades as a political party. He has abdicated control over his intellectual life.

The issue between communism and education is the effect that Communist Party membership has upon the freedom of the teacher and upon the morale and professional standards of the profession. It is not an issue of civil liberties. No man has a constitutional right to belong to any profession merely because his political affiliations are legal or illegal.

Can you imagine a biologist unable freely to accept or reject the Mendelian law of heredity? Can you imagine such a scientist committed by political affiliations to an unchangeable Lysenko doctrine on the inheritance of human traits? Can you imagine a social scientist unable freely to accept or reject the Marshall Plan? Yet, according to the record of our hearings at the University of Washington, this is the freedom permitted Communist Party members who proclaim the right to serve on our faculty.

Can you imagine a philosopher committed to support universal military training in Russia and to oppose it in the United States? Yet this is the weird reasoning of one of the men recently dismissed from the University of Washington.

A member of the Communist Party is not free. Because he is not free, he is incompetent to be a teacher. Because he asserts a freedom he does not possess, he is intellectually dishonest. Because he has failed to be a free agent, because he is intolerant of the beliefs of others, and because education cannot tolerate organized intolerance, he is in neglect of his most essential duty as a teacher. For these reasons, a Communist is an enemy of American education, and therefore he has no place on the faculty of an American college.

If this be thought to be a reactionary indictment of the Communist Party, look at the September, 1948, finding of the National Commission on Educational Reconstruction of the American Federation of Teachers, A.F.L. (scarcely a reactionary group):

> The Communist Party has demonstrated by its deeds over a period of years that it functions as a

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disciplined and conspiratorial agency to advance the interests and the policies of the Soviet Union. Membership in this authoritarian political movement necessarily involves each Communist in practices that are hostile to the fundamentals of our democratic way of life and that also negate devotion to truth and to those principles of disinterested inquiry which are the essence of scholarship.

Essentially, however, the issue is much larger than merely that between communism and free education. The larger issue is that of the integrity of the teacher and, beyond that, the corporate integrity of education as a whole. Certainly no institution can have greater integrity than the integrity of the individuals that give it meaning and life. Equally certain is the fact that the Communist Party, U.S.A., with its concealed aims and objectives, with its secret and clandestine methods and techniques, with its consistent failure to put its full face forward in the Jeffersonian tradition, reflects upon the integrity of the institution that employs its members and upon a whole educational system that has failed, with rare exceptions, to take the Communist issue seriously.

It is the duty of individual members of a university faculty to preserve and to defend the corporate company of scholars and teachers. The greatest single problem that besets this great company today is the fact that it is atomistic and over-specialized, and thus apparently lacks a valid and tangible common denominator about which to rally its strength and to preserve its corporate identity. In my opinion, however, the educational profession *has* such a common denominator; and that is its freedom, its unfettered search for truth. In my view, education should cherish and defend this freedom as the single concept about which it can gather its scattered forces and without which education as a whole is meaningless and without orientation. This is perhaps not the problem of education alone, but of our society at large, which has failed in part, at least, to find that common core of objectives, ideals and a program of action upon which our way of life must eventually stand or fall. These attitudes and processes, after all, are the essence and the very life of democracy.

Thus, communism is but one facet of a larger problem that our society must face. Communism is important chiefly because it presents in starkest outline the lack of essential integrity which is democracy's real enemy. Without this integrity, we cannot have freedom; without freedom, democracy is meaningless.

Communism is the antithesis of the living, hopeful, positive democracy we as a people have chosen to live by and to live for. Communism is a doctrine of fear, of little faith, of the submergence of the human spirit to the vicious ends of a materialistic tyranny. Free education and its quest for truth cannot gain, indeed must surely lose, if it is entrusted to the keeping of the robot prophets of such a creed. The American idea, which is perhaps "the last best hope on earth," rests firmly on the dignity, the integrity, the inviolability, indeed the sanctity of the individual free man.

✪ RAYMOND B. ALLEN is the twenty-first president of the University of Washington. President Allen has formerly been associate dean in charge of graduate studies for the College of Physicians and Surgeons, Columbia University; dean of the school of medicine, Wayne University; and dean of the School of Medicine and executive dean of the Chicago professional colleges, University of Illinois.

Joseph Butterworth

SOME MONTHS ago (January 22) Professor Phillips and I were dismissed from the faculty of the University of Washington because, as we openly declared at the beginning of the hearings of the faculty Committee on Tenure and Academic Freedom last fall, we are, and for thirteen years have been, members of the Communist Party of the United States of America.

Other charges arising out of the activities in July, 1948, of the Canwell (State Un-American) Committee were dropped by the University Administration during the course of the faculty hearings.

The Administration made no attempt to discredit the scholarship or teaching skill of Professor Phillips or myself. The terms

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"incompetence," "immorality," or "dishonesty," and "neglect of duty" are therefore used by President Allen and others in a Pickwickian sense.

The faculty Committee recommended eight to three that Professor Phillips and I be retained in our positions.

During the course of the faculty hearings, the Administration brought forward some of the old slanders—and I use the word "slanders" advisedly—against the Communist Party, especially the allegations that the Communist Party advocates the use of force and violence and that it is the agent of a foreign power.

Of the eight members of the faculty committee who favored the retention of Professor Phillips and myself, three refused to consider at all, as beyond their jurisdiction, the question of the nature of the Communist Party. The other five went out of their way to express disapproval of the organization. It is significant, however, that these five refused to find that the Communist Party advocates the use of force and violence or that it is dominated by a foreign power.

Indeed, to have done so would have been to ignore the specific statement of the Constitution of the Communist Party (1948). I quote from Article VIII, Section 3:

> Any member shall be expelled from the Party who is found to be a strike-breaker, provocateur, engaged in espionage, or who advocates force and violence or terrorism, or who adheres to or participates in the activities of any group or party which conspires or acts to subvert, undermine, weaken or overthrow any or all institutions of American democracy through which the majority of the American people can maintain their right to determine their destinies.

The Administration was unable to charge us with any overt act of force and violence, or even with unbecoming conduct. Nor does the Government of the United States make any such charge against the twelve Communist leaders indicted in New York, or against other leaders in other cities.

The University Administration makes the following points in defense of its action, all of them setting dangerous precedents:

1. That because Professor Phillips and I believe in Marxism-Leninism, and because we are members of the Communist Party, we are therefore responsible, by association, for all the words and deeds of the Communist movement since 1848, irrespective of time, place, nationality or context. (It is significant that professors have been fired from other universities for activity in the Progressive Party, or in societies devoted to the promotion of friendship between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., or to organizations which send aid to victims of Spanish fascism.)

2. That because we are obstacles to the prosecution of the cold war between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., we should be removed as a precautionary measure. (This was the main theme of one of the Administration apologists before a student assembly; see the University of Washington *Daily*, February 18.)

3. That because we are Marxist-Leninists *and* members of the Communist Party, we are unable to see the truth and follow wherever it may lead.

On this last point I might remind the reader that devotion to a movement for human betterment is an enriching intellectual and emotional experience, one which—and I call John Milton to witness—gives meaning to the abstractions of philosophy and the beauties of poetry.

✪ Since 1929 JOSEPH BUTTERWORTH'S teaching as associate in English at the University of Washington has been mainly in the language and literature of the Anglo-Saxon and Middle English periods. His chief occupation at the present time is the preparation for publication of a lengthy monograph, to be called *The Textual Tradition of Chaucer's Minor Poems*.

Ralph H. Gundlach

THE OCCASION for the dismissals and probationary action was not academic, but political. It did not arise from the campus, but from the State Un-American Activities (Canwell) Committee. The University administration, new and ambitious, took up the work on its own initiative.

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2. The charges against me, as in all the cases, were aspects of alleged past or present membership in the Communist Party. Aside from Canwell witnesses who offered no substantial evidence, the burden of proof by the Administration centered around my teaching in social and applied psychology, and my work as a citizen, which, in my understanding, was an extension of my professional knowledge and skills to community problems, in race relations, consumer, civil liberties, and relief problems, war and peace, and industrial relations. The testimony of Dean Guthrie and implication of administration attorneys were that these activities were not legitimate, but rather were substantial proof that I was really a subversive and incompetent person. I maintain this illustrates the pattern described by Gordon Allport and associates in the pamphlet, *The A B C's of Scapegoating.*

3. The Tenure Committee's recommendations concerning me split into four groups. One found no basis for dismissal; another, concerned with an earlier interview I had with President Allen, felt that in view of two additional and unrelated factors, I was guilty of neglect of duty. They thus overlooked the function of the interview, which was to coerce people into collaborating with Canwell. Another group, accepting the interpretation of Dean Guthrie, concluded that I was so biased as to be incompetent. This testimony was contrary and opposed to the evidence of students and colleagues, and constituted an abandonment of the Administration's case, which repeatedly waived the question of competence.

4. The Report and Recommendations of the Tenure Committee groups that were adverse to me (*a*) fail to evaluate the testimony on my behalf; (*b*) although they formulate a seven-point notion of the American Communist Party, they failed to hold this criterion up against the elaborate exposition of my position; nor did they evaluate a single one of the various organizations I was said to have associated with, in terms of these criteria. Yet they state that in general they find it hard to distinguish me from communism because I refused to attack it. They accepted the derogatory label "Communist Fronts" for the liberal organizations, without proof; (*c*) they made no attempt to consider, but ignored, the facts and arguments presented on each issue in the brief submitted on my behalf.

5. Implicit in academic freedom is the toleration for differing views and policies. A substantial division of the Tenure Committee found no basis for action against me. Those who did attempt to state a basis had to discover new charges. The President could have withdrawn the charges, or called for a new trial on the changed grounds. Instead, he adopted the most damaging sounding phrases from the Report, and extended them for his Recommendations to the Regents, and disregarded completely nearly every favorable argument presented by the rest of the Committee, and ignored the witnesses and facts presented on my behalf.

6. For the above reasons, I am forced to conclude that there was considerable desire on the part of President Allen and Dean Guthrie to establish for the Regents some basis for my dismissal, and that several members of the Tenure Committee had also pre-judged the issues and provided the Administration with what I take to be faulty grounds.

✪ A member of the faculty of the University of Washington from 1927 to 1949, and associate professor of psychology since 1937, RALPH H. GUNDLACH is a fellow in the American Psychological Association, a member and former board member of the Society for Psychological Study of Social Issues, and president of the Western Psychological Association. Professor Gundlach has published numerous articles in psychological and other journals.

Herbert J. Phillips

THE CENTRAL issue involved in the Washington dismissals, and the issue that justifies the professors concerned in bringing the matter before the American academic world as sharply as possible, is the issue of whether or not political opinions or affiliations should

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henceforth constitute a condition for employment in institutions of instruction. The University of Washington operated under a tenure code that explicitly omitted political grounds in specifying a definitive list of causes for dismissal. These causes were:

1. Incompetence
2. Immorality or dishonesty
3. Neglect of duty
4. Physical or mental incapacity
5. Conviction of a felony involving moral turpitude

In the trial before a faculty Tenure Committee which was also provided for by our excellent Tenure Code, the University Administration deliberately refused to attempt to prove that Mr. Butterworth and myself, who are both admitted present members of the Communist Party, were either of us individually guilty of any of the causes in the Code. The University counsel repeatedly asserted that it was their intention to establish that membership in the Communist Party, in and of itself, constituted grounds for dismissal. They argued that such membership per se entailed guilt of at least three of the causes in the Code—to wit, incompetence, immorality or dishonesty, and neglect of duty. Not only were none of these faults proven against Mr. Butterworth and myself, but in our defense we produced positive evidence which was apparently convincing in the minds of eight of the eleven man committee that we actually were competent, had moral integrity and were conscientious in the performance of our duties. Everyone should realize, then, that the University is interested in establishing the precedent that political affiliations can by themselves incapacitate a teacher.

I believe that the Washington dismissals constitute a grave danger to academic freedom and to our American system of free education. It is true that the American public is not friendly to communism and probably has difficulty being enthusiastic about the defense of the academic freedom and civil rights of Communists. Mr. Butterworth and I believe that this unfriendliness is based upon misconceptions deliberately cultivated by our major sources of information. I personally believe that it is to the credit of the American people that they are unfriendly toward an organization of the type they think the Communist Party to be. I am in a position to know that their beliefs about our party are false. It will be part of my struggle for reinstatement to help clear up some of these misconceptions. Until they are cleared up, American democratic institutions stand in great danger; for it is by taking advantage of these carefully cultivated misconceptions that the enemies of democracy hope to be successful in their attack. Wherever anti-democratic forces have triumphed, they have begun the attack upon democratic institutions by attacking the Communists. It is thus the duty of all friends of democracy, whether Communist or non-Communist, to help refute the basic lies about communism. Perhaps the following statements from one who has been an active member of the Communist Party for thirteen years, and whose honesty and intelligence have been testified to by his colleagues and students, will be of some help.

1. I believe that the doctrine of force and violence as a means of social change is a Fascist doctrine whose advocacy should be forbidden.

2. I believe it is the sacred social obligation of every individual to try to arrive at his own conclusions by means of his own inquiry and to criticize assiduously authoritarian preconceptions, whether political or religious.

3. I recognize as having first demand upon my loyalty and allegiance the safety and welfare of the American people, although I do not identify that safety and welfare with the policies of any given government.

4. I hate secrecy, and will do all I can to make America a place where candor will not be subject to recriminations.

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Communism *versus* Academic Freedom

Arthur O. Lovejoy

THE QUESTION here under discussion is a specific and limited one. It is not the question whether the Communist Party should be "outlawed," or its members be denied the ordinary rights of citizenship. That is a question which concerns all citizens *as* citizens, and it will be settled by the political and judicial processes of constitutional democratic government. The question is certainly not whether communism in the purely economic sense—the completely centralized governmental control of production and distribution—*is* a worse or a better system than competitive private enterprise. The issue to be considered in this symposium relates to educational institutions only: Are there sufficient reasons for holding that adherents of the Communist Party should be excluded from the teaching bodies of schools and universities? The present contribution to the discussion will be still further limited to the question as it concerns universities. I shall contend that—irrespective of the answers to be given to any of the other questions mentioned—there are cogent reasons against admitting members of the Communist Party in America to university faculties. But to make those reasons clear it is necessary first to consider what kind of institution a university is, for what ends it exists, and what is prerequisite to the performance by professional scholars of the specific social function assigned to them.

The distinctive function of university teachers and of the institutions in which they serve, in the economy of modern society, is to furnish to other men the results of the investigations of disinterested experts in the several provinces of thought and knowledge. The existence of the profession rests upon the assumption that it is useful, and even needful, for society to maintain such a body of trained investigators, and to be informed as to the conclusions which they may individually or collectively reach. Society, therefore, is not getting from the scholar the particular service which is the principal *raison d'être* of his calling, unless it gets from him his honest report of what *he* finds, or believes, to be true, after careful study of the problems with which he deals. Insofar, then, as faculties are made up of men whose teachings express, *not* the results of their own research and reflection and that of their fellow-specialists, but rather the opinions of other men—whether holders of public office or private persons from whom endowments are received—just so far are colleges and universities perverted from their proper function. This, of course, does not mean that experts are infallible, or that other men are under any compulsion to accept their conclusions. It means only that one specific and (it will be admitted) highly important organ of the intellectual life and rational progress of the community cannot function at all unless it is left free to function by its own method—which is the method of open-minded inquiry and of frank and unhampered discussion, carried on by men dedicated to the scholar's life and specially trained in the disciplines to which they devote themselves.*

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*This paragraph was written in 1920 and printed in the *Nation* of that year; it is the more pertinent here because it was then made the basis of a criticism of the trustees of an American college for accepting from a "capitalist" an endowment for a special professorship to be devoted to showing "the fallacies of socialism and kindred theories and practices." I have now added only the words "holders of public office."

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This, I suggest, is what may be called the basic "philosophy" of academic freedom. Such freedom is not more necessary for the community at large than freedom in general—of speech, of the press, of religion, of political action. But for universities, and for the guild of scholars, it is literally vital; without the *Luft der Freiheit* they cannot exist *as* universities and *as* members of that guild. It is no luxury generously granted by the rest of society to a privileged class of eccentrics called professors; for if it is indispensable to them for the carrying on of the task allotted to them, and if the performance of that task is itself indispensable in a civilized society, then the maintenance of the scholar's intellectual freedom should be a matter of concern to all enlightened members of society. But the protection of this essential condition for the discharge of their function is for scholars in universities a primary and special concern. It is as much an obligation as a right. Freedom of teaching has been won, to the considerable degree in which it has been won in all reputable institutions, by a long and hard struggle, and every new threat to it should encounter the determined resistance of the entire academic profession.

Now one reason why I think that members of the Communist Party should not be appointed to university faculties is that I hold this belief in the indispensability of academic freedom. Yet I find other professed believers in it who draw from that belief precisely the opposite conclusion. From an identical premise, contrary consequences are inferred. I must therefore try to state as clearly as I can the argument which appears to me to show that the employment of Communist teachers is inimical to academic freedom. It is a very simple argument; it can best be put, in the logician's fashion, in a series of numbered theorems:

1. Freedom of inquiry, of opinion, and of teaching in universities is a prerequisite, if the academic scholar is to perform the function proper to his profession.

2. The Communist Party in the United States is an organization whose aim is to bring about the establishment in this country of a political as well as an economic system essentially similar to that which now exists in the Soviet Union.

3. That system does not permit freedom of inquiry, of opinion, and of teaching, either in or outside of universities; in it the political government claims and exercises the right to dictate to scholars what conclusions they must accept, or at least profess to accept, even on questions lying within their own specialties—for example, in philosophy, in history, in aesthetics and literary criticism, in economics, in biology.

4. A member of the Communist Party is therefore engaged in a movement which has already extinguished academic freedom in many countries and would—if it were successful here—result in the abolition of such freedom in American universities.

5. No one, therefore, who desires to maintain academic freedom in America can consistently favor that movement, or give indirect assistance to it by accepting as fit members of the faculties of universities, persons who have voluntarily adhered to an organization one of whose aims is to abolish academic freedom.

Of these five propositions, the first is one of principle. For those who do not accept it, the conclusion does not follow. The argument is addressed only to those who do accept that premise. The second, third and fourth propositions are statements of fact. I submit that they cannot be honestly gainsaid by any who are acquainted with the relevant facts. With respect to the second, it will be noted that it does not say that the American section of the Communist Party seeks to overthrow our present form of government "by force and violence." That is at least denied by most American Communists; it is not directly pertinent to the specific issue of academic freedom; and, at the date of writing this, it is a question which is before the Federal courts for judicial determination. But whatever the *means* by which American Communists propose to accomplish their end—whether by peaceful or (if a favorable opportunity arises) by violent methods—no one who reads the manifestoes and publications of the Party can have any doubt about the nature of the end. It is to set up in the

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United States a system modeled upon that of the Soviet Union—a so-called "dictatorship of the proletariat" (in reality, of a Party committee) in accordance with the principles and program set forth in the writings of Lenin and Stalin. And those writings, as well as the actual practice of the Soviet government, make it abundantly clear that the system admits no limit to the authority of the one-party state not merely to restrict freedom of thought and expression generally, but also positively to prescribe to writers and scholars, including university teachers and members of research institutes, what opinions they must profess and teach.

The cases of Nicolai Vavilov in genetics and of Varga in economics are the best-known evidence of this; they are far from being the only examples. The former is doubtless already familiar—at all events it should be—to readers of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR from the article (in the *Saturday Review of Literature*, December 11, 1948) by the eminent Russian-American geneticist Professor H. J. Muller; but it is pertinent to recall two sentences from this article, whose author was himself, before 1937, senior geneticist in the Institute of Genetics in Moscow: "Certain it is that from 1936 on Soviet geneticists of all ranks lived a life of terror. Most of those who were not imprisoned, banished, or executed, were forced to enter other lines of work"—or publicly to recant the "errors" into which their own researches, and those of their fellow-specialists, had led them.

Has the American Communist Party ever denounced this reign of terror in science or repudiated the whole authoritarian conception of the State which would permit political functionaries, having no training or competence in the sciences upon which they pronounce, to compel investigators in those sciences to teach what, as scientists they know to be false—or else? The Communist Party avows—or boasts—that its members are subject to an "iron discipline" they must follow the "Party line"; and the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has now officially defined the party line for biologists—namely, that the Mendelian theory, the basis of all modern scientific genetics, is a "bourgeois deviation" not to be tolerated. It is this sort of régime that an American Communist is committed to defending, and would introduce into the United States. Any professional scholar of whom this is true is disloyal to the spirit of science and to one of the most binding obligations of his profession, and should have no place in an American university.

It will perhaps be objected that the exclusion of Communist teachers would itself be a restriction upon freedom of opinion and of teaching—*viz.*, of the opinion and teaching that intellectual freedom should be abolished in and outside of universities; and that it is self-contradictory to argue for the restriction of freedom in the name of freedom. The objection has a specious air of logicality, but it is in fact an absurdity. The believer in the indispensability of freedom, whether academic or political, is not thereby committed to the conclusion that it is his duty to facilitate its destruction, by placing its enemies in strategic positions of power, prestige or influence. Those enemies often argue in just this fashion: we (they sometimes are frank enough to tell us) will—if or insofar as we have the power—put an end to the freedom in which you believe; and *you*, just because you believe in it, can in consistency do nothing (except talk, so long as you are allowed to talk) to stop us.

But the conception of freedom is not one which implies the legitimacy and inevitability of its own suicide. It is, on the contrary, a conception which, so to say, defines the limit of its own applicability; what it implies is that there is *one* kind of freedom which is inadmissible—the freedom to destroy freedom. The defender of liberty of thought and speech is not morally bound to enter the fight with both hands tied behind his back. And those who would deny such freedom to others, if they could, have no moral or logical basis for the claim to enjoy the freedom which they would deny. Anyone who would set up such a claim must come into court "with clean hands"; but no one who is lending aid to an international political movement which has al-

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ready destroyed the freedom of universities wherever it has attained its objectives, and must be expected to do so wherever it may attain them in the future, can come into the academic court of equity with clean hands.

It is, then, first of all, to safeguard academic freedom that members of the Communist Party should be excluded from university teaching positions. They are allies of the most threatening enemy of that freedom now existing in the world; and, even though at present they have no prospect of suppressing it in America, they cannot be depended upon to carry on their professional activity in a free institution by the method and in the spirit of the scientific investigator. If they are consistent and devoted party members, the conclusions they express will conform to the shifting dictates of the party line—which is to say that they will not be conclusions resulting from the free pursuit of knowledge, uninfluenced by extraneous pressures and irrelevant motives.

But though the first—and in itself sufficient—reason for exclusion is the incompatibility between political communism and loyalty to academic freedom, there are other reasons not less conclusive. To understand them, it is necessary to read the authoritative statements of the party and its leaders on the obligations of party membership, and also to appreciate the actual temper generally characteristic of its members. A sincere Communist—and of the burning sincerity of most of them there can be no question—believes, as the protagonists of the Party have taught him to believe, that the one supreme end, to which everything else must be subordinated, the glorious consummation of all human history, is the world revolution. The value of this end is in his eyes so great that the use of any means which seem likely to promote it is not only justified but obligatory.

From this conviction two consequences result. The first is that any position which he may hold—in a school, a trade union, or any other organization—is conceived by him as primarily, not to say solely, instrumental to this end, to be used either for proselytizing or for troubling the waters of "capitalist society" and making life unpleasant for the bourgeoisie (including his colleagues). A writer in the *Communist* (1937), Richard Frank, says: "Only when teachers have really mastered Marxism-Leninism, will they be able skillfully to inject it into their teaching at the least risk of exposure and at the same time to conduct struggles around the schools in a truly Bolshevik manner." In short, a Communist teacher in a school or a university may be expected to be in fact, first and last and all the time, a secret propagandist and an indefatigable intriguer in the interest of the one cause to which he is devoted. Such persons are hardly ideal members of teaching bodies.

The second consequence which follows from the fundamental conviction of the Communist is the rejection of the generally accepted code of morals. Lenin wrote—and his followers naturally act accordingly—that "morality is entirely subordinate to the interest of the class war. . . . Communist morality is identical with the fight for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat." Conspicuous among the "bourgeois" virtues which the properly indoctrinated Communist thus discards are candor and veracity. When it will serve the cause, mendacity is not only permissible but a duty; "it is necessary," as Lenin elsewhere wrote, "to use any ruse, cunning, unlawful method, evasion, and concealment of the truth" which can help to hasten the triumph of the cause. Now truthfulness is, doubtless, not universally and conspicuously characteristic of politicians of any party. But it is a virtue which ought to be peculiarly esteemed and cherished in universities. In the professional code of the scholar, the man of science, the teacher, the first commandment is: Thou shalt not knowingly misrepresent facts, nor tell lies to students or to the public. Those who not merely sometimes break this commandment, but repudiate any obligation to respect it, are obviously disqualified for membership in any body of investigators and teachers which maintains the elementary requirements of professional integrity.

To say these things is not to say that the

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economic and even the political doctrines of communism should not be presented and freely discussed within academic walls. To treat them simply as "dangerous thoughts," with which students should not be permitted to have any contact, would give rise to a plausible suspicion that they are taboo because they would, if presented, be all too convincing; and out of that suspicion young Communists are bred. These doctrines, moreover, are historical facts; for better or worse, they play an immense part in the intellectual and political controversies of the present age. To deny to students means of learning accurately what they are, and of reaching informed judgments about them, would be to fail in one of the major pedagogic obligations of a university—to enable students to understand the world in which they will live, and to take an intelligent part in its affairs. All departments of economics or of political science, or both, should offer courses in which the principal writings of Marx, Engels, and the contemporary theorists of communism are read, and their reasonings *and* those of their opponents are closely analyzed, discussed and evaluated, under instructors learned in the literature of these controversies, and capable of dealing with it in the cool and critical temper of the man of science. An essential part of such courses should be an examination of communism in practice in the Soviet Union, and of its program and methods in international relations. From time to time, members of the Communist Party should be invited to speak before students; but they should be introduced, not as unbiased and objective investigators of economic and political problems, but as party propagandists—and propagandists of a party of which all members are expected by it to adhere strictly to the party line of the moment, as laid down by a group of politicians in Moscow, whose evident and admitted motive is to increase the power of the party organization by any methods (including suppression and misrepresentation of facts) which seem to them serviceable to that purpose.

There are, I suppose, some American members of the Party who will protest that they do not desire, and would not, even if they had the power, introduce here the authoritarian system of one-party government which exists in the Soviet Union, with its negation of both academic and political freedom. They belong to the Party, they will perhaps say, because they believe merely in the economic doctrine and the (professed) ultimate social ideals of communism—a "classless society" in which the law of distribution will be "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need." I shall believe them when, and only when, they prove by acts as well as words their genuine opposition to the whole *political* system of the U.S.S.R.; and this proof would require of them, among other things, a frank public admission that both intellectual and political freedom are ruthlessly suppressed under that system, and a public denunciation of such suppression; a demand that the Party condemn as undemocratic the program of a "dictatorship of the proletariat," with its denial of the right of political agitation and action to all but one party; and an insistence that the American party declare, and show by its practice, that it accepts no obligation to subject its policies to the "Party line" as prescribed by Moscow, or by any international organization.

I should not anticipate that, if any American party members should in good faith give such evidence of loyalty to the principles of intellectual and political liberty, they would have a very happy time with their "comrades." For they would conclusively convict themselves of the heresies of "revisionism" and "right-deviationism," and align themselves with the Democratic Socialists—who, to the true disciples of Lenin and Stalin, are even more odious than the unabashed defenders of "capitalism." What is certain is that such heretics, if any such are, for reasons of expediency, temporarily tolerated, do not control the Party; but that, by their nominal adherence to it, they give furtherance to aims of which (if their protestations are honest) they deeply disapprove. The only convincing evidence that they do not share those aims would be resignation from the Party and abstention from any assistance to it.

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All the foregoing relates to future appointments to American university faculties. There remains the question, raised in the University of Washington cases—on which I have been asked to comment—as to what should be done with respect to present members of faculties who are on permanent tenure. The issue of present Party membership arose clearly only in two of the three cases. In one of the cases, the evidence was conflicting, and the dismissal was apparently based on different alleged grounds. In the two others, both teachers frankly admitted present membership in the Communist Party. There are, however, some indications, in the rather summary report of the testimony published by the University, that they are "Communists" of the unorthodox sort referred to in the preceding paragraph. Unfortunately, it does not appear that the crucial questions which would have elicited their actual positions were expressly put to them: (1) Are you aware that the political program of the Communist Party is the setting-up of a one-party dictatorship, and that, wherever it has attained power, it has established such a dictatorship, in which both academic and political freedom are suppressed? (2) Do you reject this program, and will you publicly declare that you reject it? (3) Do you also reject the teaching of Lenin (still to be found in current Party publications) that a party member should, when it will serve the interest of the movement, resort to "any ruse, cunning, unlawful method, evasion, and concealment of the truth"? (4) If you reject these features of Communist doctrine and practice, are you willing to give proof that you do so by resigning from the Party?

A negative answer to the first question would be evidence either of almost incredible ignorance or (more probably) of falsehood; either would be sufficient ground for removal. Affirmative answers to all the other questions would eliminate any legitimate grounds for dismissal, so far as the instant cases are concerned; negative answers to any of them would justify dismissal. Since I do not know what answers would be given by these two teachers, I cannot express an opinion about the propriety of the action taken with respect to them by the University; I can only regret that (so far as the record thus far published shows) the questions were not put.

In the three other cases, in which the only substantiated charge was that of *past* membership in the Communist Party, it is gratifying to find that this was not held to be a ground for dismissal. The Administrative Code, in enumerating "the reasons for which persons having tenure may be removed from the faculty of the University," did not, by any natural interpretation of its language, include such membership among those reasons; and the well-grounded American aversion to *ex post facto* legislation prevailed in the decision of these cases. The Board of Regents, however, in my opinion, acted unwisely and unfairly in imposing an unnecessary stigma upon these teachers, who admittedly had voluntarily withdrawn from the Party some years earlier, by putting them on probation for two years.

The Mandarins and the Pariahs

Max Lerner

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READING the reports of the faculty committee and the President in the University of Washington cases, I could not escape the disquieting sense of imperfect men (as all of us are) excommunicating godless heretics with bell and book and candle. And there is a grim and somewhat breathtaking note in

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a university president who writes a paean to the objectivity of professors in their search for truth, and who then takes the truth his own committee of professors have searched out and throws it out of the window. President Allen has taken the premises of his faculty and drawn from them a conclusion of action exactly the opposite of their own, thus making a parody of the rigorous intellectual process about which he grows lyrical.

I do not underestimate how vexing is the problem of Communists on a university faculty. Communism is a fanatical fighting faith, and the Communists form an embattled army whose members are expected to be good soldiers. Such an army is unlikely to contain many men who are strong on what Veblen called "idle curiosity," with an open-minded concern for what is valid rather than expedient. American Communists are likely to be men and women of generous impulses that have been burked and narrowed by a fixation on the Russian image, and by the dreariest and most boring reversion to the stereotypes of Soviet orthodoxy on every crucial intellectual issue. Yet what may end by being boring to one who has met it repeatedly may prove exciting to a college youngster who confronts it for the first time. A faculty Communist, rare as he is, can do substantial damage to an immature mind, by exploiting its power drives or its idealism, and postponing until too late the discovery that a man must do his own thinking, just as he must decide his own values and meet in lonely nakedness his own moral crises.

This, it strikes me, is the real damage that Communist teachers can wreak, and not the preparation for the overthrow of our institutions, which with everything we know about basic American attitudes, becomes something of a fantasy. But there is also danger for the student from college teachers —and they are by no means rare—who are soldiers in a secret battalion of quite another kind, that of their own careerism and opportunism. I am talking of the men who do not often have the courage to be much of anything, whether Communist or socialist or liberal or reactionary; whose souls have not been entered by iron of any kind; who may become time-servers and success-servers.

Since we teach what we are, the image remaining in the student's memory is not the facts he was taught, and often not even the ideas, but the image of a teacher's personality and the way he faced the world. Every wall built around the teacher, to hedge in the range of his possible commitments and activities, means a shrinking in the range and variety of teacher-personalities from whom a student can learn. What teachers have lacked most in America is not the freedom to say something, but something to say. Most of the pressures of community power and community opinion are in the direction of the Chamber of Commerce-N.A.M.-Legion of Decency-American Legion beliefs and tabus. It is not easy for a teacher to be a Prometheus and hold out against these reigning divinities. University teachers, like most men and women, include the timorous, the unheroic, the unimaginative. The life of a college teacher is a forest of tabus. Every new tabu added means not only an academic death for the men banned, but a tenser atmosphere for all other teachers.

What happens in the end is that the universities become uncreative—not in the Russian way of fanatical dogmatism, which is bad enough but presents no calculable danger in America, but in the American way of growing anemic, safe for everything except what requires courage and challenges the structure of power. As the *New Yorker* editors put it, the firing of Communists would make "millions of highly fit Americans a little cautious, a little fearful of having naughty thoughts, a little fearful of believing differently from the next man, a little worried about associating with a group or party or club." And again, "in this land an ousted professor is not an island entire of itself; his death diminishes us all."

The problem then, as I see it, is not so much one of academic freedom to bail out men who themselves despise it, but one of intellectual health to keep the universities alive. I do not minimize the risk involved when men are allowed to continue teaching

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whose allegiance to some onward-and-upward or some downward-to-the-pit cause is greater than their allegiance to the open mind. But every course of action involves a balancing of risks. The question is: what risk can we best afford to take—that a few Communists will have their jobs protected, or that the competition of ideas will be hedged in and *No Trespassing* signs will be put up where they least belong in American life?

I do not take the so-called "absolutist" view of academic freedom. Universities are not run for teachers, and certainly not for what might be called their trade-association rights. A teacher, whether Communist or not, has no vested right in incompetence or propaganda. Tenure is important because without it every teacher would be forever on tenterhooks, vulnerable to the pressures of those who find his views uncomfortable. One trouble with our system is that tenure comes so late. By the time a man has achieved it, the years are over when the habits of timidity or boldness are formed, and little of independence is left to be nursed. The safe course is to be either noncommittal or else an over-emphatic champion of the possessing groups. It is inevitable that a Communist ban will have repercussions beyond the Communists themselves, to the liberal or radical criticisms that reject the Communist premises. President Allen denies that this is his intent, assuring us that "honest, above-board criticism of the capitalist system, which no one contends is perfect, is quite another matter"; and the faculty committee asserts unanimously that "intellectual Marxism, unaccompanied by Party membership or activities, does not justify removal." But in an atmosphere where everyone will be scurrying for safety, the storm-signals will scarcely be ignored.

Taking this non-absolutist view of academic freedom, I say: fire teachers if you must because of their incompetence or propagandist dishonesty, but make sure that as individuals they are what they are charged with being. To quote again the admirable *New Yorker* comment on the University of Washington cases, "We believe that teachers should be fired not in blocks of three for political wrongness but in blocks of one for unfitness." Elementary justice, in a society where we profess to care for the individual human being, requires us not to condemn a man unless we are certain of his guilt as an individual. The so-called "findings" of the majority of the faculty committee on the nature of the Communist Party are interesting and may even be relevant, but they are not decisive. The fact of belonging to a party which is meant to be a disciplined army, and the added fact of having kept it secret for a period, ought to be a weighty item in any calculation about a teacher's integrity. It would make me skeptical about the teacher in question, but it would not be clinching. Professor Butterworth taught Old English and was an authority on Chaucer. He could still have been a corrupting force if he taught—whatever his subject—with intellectual dishonesty and as a propagandist, but that would have to be a question of fact investigated specifically as such. The same applies to Professor Phillips, who taught the more "dangerous" subjects of philosophy and social psychology. But the fact that he always made his bias explicitly clear to his students, and asked them to discount it in forming their own judgments, is a heavy argument against President Allen's decision. It makes Phillips a teacher with more integrity than some I have known, on the Right as on the Left, who have not even been aware they had a bias.

When President Harold Taylor of Sarah Lawrence College made a similar point in a Town Meeting of the Air debate, President Allen answered that there was no time to study the individual record of the professor and his effect on his students. But what other basis can there be for judgment? This is not a case of wartime emergency, when abrupt decisions which cover categories instead of individuals have to be made. We are not at war with Russia, and even if we were, our courts would still have to judge the individual case before they condemned a man as a traitor to his country. Yet what President Allen and the Board of Regents

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have done is to declare a whole group of men traitors to their chosen profession, by a principle which makes it unnecessary to go farther than their formal Communist commitment. This creates in the academic community a condition of caste, in which a group of men—regardless of their individual deserts and the daily record of their work—are set aside as academic untouchables.

I wonder whether, under the tensions of what President Conant has called "education in a divided world," we are not losing some of the saving humor and perspective that have generally characterized Americans. There is a danger that we shall match the intense dogmatism of the Communists with an almost parallel dogmatism of our own. We need some of the laughter with which Mr. Dooley might have swept all these cobwebby fears away, or the gusty ridicule which a Bernard Shaw would direct at them. If ours were a police-state, as Russia is, and we lived in mortal fear of criticism of our institutions, there would be a police-state logic in outlawing dangerous thoughts. Actually there is not a single argument that has been used for dismissing the Communists which could not be turned topsy-turvy and used by the men of the Kremlin to rationalize the absence of a competing pro-capitalist idea in Russia. Some savage tribes feel that by eating your enemy's heart you get his strength. You may get also his poison and fanaticism.

What makes it all the more whimsical is that we have no need for this rigidity. The foundations of our society will not fall because our students are exposed to the teachings and personalities of a few Communists. We have an enormous margin of safety—one reason being that throughout our history we have refused to impose intellectual Alien and Sedition laws upon our teachers. We want no commissars of ideas, in whatever respectable anti-Communist guise they may appear. We want no Zhdanovs, performing the American equivalent of castigating decadent literature and art as unworthy of Soviet man, or excommunicating Titoism as a heresy. Instead of the system of commissars and Torquemadas, it would be best to leave to the free judgment of the faculties themselves how far they dare relax the rules of tenure, and investigate for themselves particular charges of propagandist teaching, whether for the Left or Right.

I detect in President Allen's whole approach a curious assumption that the conscious or self-deluded propagandist is to be found only on the Left, whereas the whole structure of power in our society should have taught us that the propaganda battalions of the Left are puny when compared with the mercenaries of the Big Money. I find also in his approach the assumption that being a teacher is a good deal like being a public official, and that you cannot therefore take any chances on a possibly untrustworthy man. "Universities," writes President Conant, "are neither government bureaus nor private corporations; the professors are not hired employees. The criteria for joining a community of scholars . . . are not to be confused with the requirements of a Federal bureau." This is a healthy antidote to the growing bureaucratization of our *culture*, which is far more dangerous than the bureaucratization of our *government*. The whole point of teaching and learning is that even when universities are subsidized by government money because they serve the community, they must be separated from official attitudes if they are not to grow rigid and rotten. The example of China, with its system of mandarin scholars who functioned as government officials, ought to be warning enough that in this direction lies decay, if not madness.

I do not take the position, as some do, that freedom of Communists to be teachers should depend on the continued legality of the Communist Party. This is still category thinking, and it misses the real point that a man must be judged on his own teaching record. But a useful analogy can be drawn between the two situations in one respect. Thomas E. Dewey pointed out, in his historic Oregon debate with Harold Stassen, that to outlaw the Communists was to drive them underground. This applies equally to banning teachers who are Communists. President Allen seems to admire Marx and

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Engels and Lenin because they wore their communism "proudly." Let us take him at his word, and adopt the principle that a professor with tenure, who wears his communism openly and puts his bias on the classroom table to be discounted, will be protected by a university administration. Then the damage Communists might do would be at a minimum. But if avowed Communists like Butterworth and Phillips are dismissed despite tenure, the avowals will in the future not be made, and a catacomb communism—easily the most dangerous of all—will develop, complete with a Book of Martyrs and a legendary halo. The crypto-Communists will shine for their student-followers with all the more glamor because they will be running the daily risk of martyrdom for their beliefs.

It has been argued that while intellectual Marxism may be only a belief, to join the Communist Party is an *act*, and does not therefore come under the protection of academic freedom. But there are many acts of intellectual and moral commitment a man might perform, such as joining the Catholic Church or the Society of Friends or Jehovah's Witnesses or Zionism. Several of these may get a man mixed up in international politics, several of them commit him on the question of action in war and peace, and at least one of them takes a position of drastic hostility to some of the tenets and procedures of modern science. The Communist issue is dangerous at present because it is part of the cold war, or the armed truce. There is no question that to become a Communist is an act—an act of faith—but the question still remains in the individual case as to how relevant an act it is. The only relevant act I can see in a teacher's life must be one whose consequences are spread on his own record. President Allen seeks to pre-judge it by assuming the answer in terms of category. Such pre-judgment is scarcely part of the intellectual process he values so highly.

Actually every body of social beliefs, including those of capitalism, tends in the absence of counter-forces to become a theology. It takes careful self-scrutiny and self-criticism on our part to escape this process of *rigor mortis*, this iron law of creeds. We have not yet made a theology out of capitalism, and President Allen is himself aware that it is not perfect. But the first step in doing so is to condemn a rival theology outright as heresy or diabolism. We are a long way from becoming the dictatorship of the godly in our intellectual life, after the manner of a Cotton Mather or a Vishinsky, but our certitude as to just who the outright *ungodly* are is a disquieting approach toward it. What will we achieve by banishing them, as another theocracy once banished James Joyce, except to drive them into "silence, exile, and cunning"?—with the difference that the results will not be creative this time, either for the Communists or for their banishers.

President Allen and his Regents are proposing to do it, I know, out of a concern for the minds of our students, and the concern does them honor. But this method of protecting students may prove more corrupting than the danger that some Communist propagandists may slip through the net of faculty scrutiny. College students are not Vestal Virgins to be guarded against intellectual seduction, nor is the university a temple cut off from the rest of the world. It is a part of the turmoil of our time, and the presence of some Communist teachers is a reflection of the conflict of ideas and values which is the crux of our time. If we fear the inciting effects of some of the ideas the teachers may broach, we must remember what Justice Holmes remarked in his dissent in the Gitlow case: "Every idea is an incitement." Holmes used to talk of the competition of ideas as the essence of the democratic process. Actually what we have in our university system is not a free market for ideas, but what the economists call "imperfect competition" at best. The challenge that Marxism offers as an intellectual system needs to be met, not evaded by exorcism.

I wish that more college educators had the clarity that President Conant shows in his *Education in a Divided World*, in which (pp. 171-180, 211-216) he urges that "the number one educational need at the present moment" is to "study the Soviet philosophy

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. . . and examine and debate the creed of the Communist Party as it has been formulated and defended both here and in foreign lands." I should myself add that if Communists did not exist in our universities, it might be wise to appoint some. They would be useful as part of the process of examination and debate.

But, says President Allen, academic freedom involves duties as well as rights. I agree: duties that the whole community owes to the students, who must after all be the focal point of every discussion of teaching and learning. Students cannot learn except by a conflict and opposition of ideas. Unless the thinking presented to them for scrutiny has several dimensions, they cannot form their own intellectual synthesis. The great tradition of our people is the tradition of non-conformism—not for the sake of being ornery, but because dissent sharpens the search for the viable truth. Such truth cannot be wooed by force—even what may seem the relatively mild force of excluding those who seem the obvious heretics. There was some talk, in the records of the University of Washington cases, about Galileos and Darwins. It is doubtful whether the men who have been dismissed would ever have become such figures. But that is beside the point. The knowledge that we had lost courage in the competition of ideas, and had placed political limits on teachers, may plant the canker of terror in the hearts of millions of young men and women among whom there may be a potential Galileo or Darwin, a Jefferson or Einstein. When we stifle dissent, however plausible it may seem to do so at a time of an armed truce, we fail in our duty to generations of students.

The garment in which we clothe our action is that we are guarding our colleges from men who have submitted themselves to the discipline of lying. But if we strip this rhetoric away, we shall find that in fact we are branding one group of our teachers as pariahs, and turning the rest into mandarins. Then teaching will lose courage, and learning, fruitfulness.

Academic Expediency as Democratic Justice *in re* Communists

T. V. Smith

It is the American system that nobody is ever responsible to anybody else for what he believes. No belief, none whatsoever, can be odious enough rightly to entail any public accountability therefor. And so, of course, no college or university worthy of the name will think of firing any professor for his beliefs, nor conceive that it has the right to censor his beliefs. What a teacher, or any citizen, believes is his business alone, his and God's.

What he does, however, is another matter; that begins to be the business of others as soon as it goes beyond belief. To join the Communist Party is an act—an act which commits one to other acts, indeed commits one to a line of acts, which in turn becomes, and is called, "the Party line." The recent trial of accused professors at the University of Washington brought out anew that, whereas certain American liberals joined the Party to fight fascism, a change of the Kremlin line was enough to put all Party members, overnight and willy-nilly, in alliance with both fascism

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and naziism. The Communist's commanded and chronic secretiveness about this act of joining up attests to his prudential regard for a distinction which we make and esteem, but which he disesteems and so makes only to our disadvantage.

This distinction between thought and action is indeed of the essence of democracy. The fact of the distinction is indispensable to freedom, and its value is inviolable for individual integrity. Our Bill of Rights totally protects the inner life from intervention, whereas the Constitution itself provides management for the outer life of action.

The Communist professes to deny both the fact and the value of this distinction, when denial is to his advantage. Since thinking is held by him to be acting, there is no room for neutrality, no objectivity. All thought is either action for or reaction against; it is either revolutionary or counter-revolutionary. We cannot deal with Communists objectively, or objectively with any issue which concerns them; for they sneer at our whole notion of impartiality. He who is not for them is against them; and they are not for anything that we are for.

The soundest cure for any softness about communism is, therefore, a good stiff dose of Communists. The comrades can bring their cause into disrepute when nothing else can, as the labor unions here and abroad have had to learn the hard way. The reason that Communists are unassimilable, and so are expendable, is as simple as this suggests, and as iniquitous. The reason is that they do not believe in candor, and they forthrightly disbelieve in cooperation. If they purport to cooperate, it is, uncandidly, in order to disrupt the process. Dialectical materialism prescribes class conflict as the only road to classlessness. If they do not find class conflict, they must create it; for the gospel according to St. Marx prescribes that only conflict can lead to progress, can issue as justice. Communism, therefore, as a roseate dream finds its nemesis in Communists, who are foresworn in practice to the very opposite of what they preach, in order indeed to make the preaching come true. If you want peace, practice war; if you want to abolish class conflict, intensify it where you find it and engender it where you do not find it. A stiff dose of this paradox is, I repeat, the homeopathic cure against falling for communistic preachment, idyllic as it sounds and romantic as it promises.

All this applies with peculiar force to the role of Communists in American education. Nobody knows how to get along with them in the highly cooperative venture represented by a university. You have to spend so much time watching them that you have no time left to do the job for which you are paid. This amuses them, and passes as a sign of their success; but how can it amuse any honest teacher in a democratic institution? Since nobody can get along with a paradox or with a sworn provocateur, why would anybody welcome to a college faculty such paradox-mongers, such strife-sowers? The truth is that nobody, or next to nobody, does welcome Communist faculty members. It is to reckon without a full knowledge of the timid and defensive psychology of school teachers to expect those who disavow the right of regents to fire Communists, for that reason to want to rush forth and hire all that are in sight. Is it too harsh to discern a gentle professional hypocrisy in the not uncommon attitude of teachers which counsels against the firing of those whom few teachers would themselves knowingly hire? We teachers seem at times to be willing to fight to the last university president for the right of the comrades to undermine all our democratic colleagueship. No college president would long have a faculty, but rather a chaos, if he hired, or failed to fire, avowed or proved Communist party members. Their genius is disruption, albeit always, *dialectically* speaking, for the sake of (utopian) "construction."

That is the general case in common sense against having Communist members of university faculties. Let us now further spell it out in terms of rights, duties and expediencies.

1. Communists either have a right to faculty privilege, or they do not. It is my

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contention that they do not have a right to teach in institutions whose ends they disavow and whose means they subvert as best they can.

2. We either owe them the duty or we do not. We do not, not without their achieving the right. Duties and rights are always correlative. We do not owe anybody the right to destroy what it is our duty to maintain.

3. But we may owe ourselves as democrats a duty which we do not owe those who warn us in advance of what they'll do to us and to our schools when their suborned teaching enables the crouching comrades to seize our power. We who are tolerant, that is, admittedly sometimes owe tolerance to even the intolerant in order to promote the system of tolerance. Duties which we owe merely to ourselves are of course limited to our advantage. If we see clearly that Communists cannot claim among their rights as citizens the high privilege of a job in a college, and if we see, therefore, that any duty we owe, we owe only to ourselves, we are prepared to treat tolerance toward them as the expediency it is and then to argue more intelligently about the other expediencies involved.

4. It is not unambiguously expedient for us to tolerate avowed Communists as teachers. I admit that this conclusion is arguable, pro and con. But we might learn from the experience of other lands. It did not prove expedient for freedom to include Communists in cabinet positions in Poland, or on university faculties in Czechoslovakia, or in labor unions in France. Expediency is a political matter, and it is plainly not good politics to have Communists in our State Department at Washington, or in atomic energy plants—not yet, I believe, in our college faculties. To claim the latter is to be in excess of their rights and to be in deficiency of our duty. In education we can well do without those who cannot do with us.

It is not a matter of fear, any immediate fear of communism. We don't have to indulge them to show them we are not afraid. We are sufficiently unafraid as not to have to show them we are unafraid by acting as if we were afraid. We need not be afraid of a hand-ful of Communists in colleges; but we might well be afraid of a land-ful of citizens, who will never understand how our academic freedom requires them to stomach Communist teachers for their children.

It is a strange kind of expediency that gets us in trouble with parents, which disrupts faculty harmony, which poisons legislative confidence, which prejudices alumni loyalty, and which puts athwart our own professional interests.

It is an unusual type of expediency which would commit us as teachers to a strategy which we are bound to lose in our struggle to maintain academic freedom. Even those who think that we owe the Communists no rights, will say nevertheless that we must defend their freedom in order to safeguard our own. I think that such an attitude withdraws confidence from the spot that would reward it and places it where it is certain to be betrayed. It withdraws confidence from our fellow-citizens, who after all must support higher education, by assuming that they cannot be made to understand and respect the real grounds for academic freedom—namely, our rights as citizens to freedom of thought and expression and our particular need of these rights if we are to be good teachers. It places confidence in the Communists when we let them budge us beyond the call of duty to defend as privileges for them what they cannot claim as rights, and so cannot make out to be our duties. To make their rights the first line of defense of our freedom foredooms us to lose that fight, and forces us to fall back to our own line with citizenly confidence in us weakened and with our professional morale impaired. We might still be able to defend our own freedom of speech and thought, but if so, it is because there is in our fellow-citizens such confidence in us that we ought to reward that confidence by making our last line of defense our first line also, and our only line. To defend the Communists in order the better to defend ourselves is to fall for a Communist booby-trap, unstrategic to us

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as democrats and far beyond the call of our duty.

Our duty is in fact to maintain for ourselves the freedoms without which we cannot be good teachers. We must have confidence in our fellow-citizens to this end.

Once we make up our mind to sacrifice the Communists, we will begin to lose the disbelief in our fellow-citizens, which in no small part we have borrowed unconsciously from the Communists themselves, whose business it is to sow distrust.

With our confidence in our own restored, we could and should welcome full legislative scrutiny, defend the liberals, and locate our own professional goal posts inside the field of democratic duty, not in the bleachers of the comrades. We could defend the rights of Communists as citizens, without letting them fudge thereby professional privileges which we have won with discipline and can keep only through popular sympathy.

Once we have recovered our confidence in our own kind, we can move to cooperate with the un-American activities committees of nation and states; for they are within their rights even when they are off their manners. We should say to them: "Prove; don't merely point!" Or, still better, we could say to them, as was said at Seattle recently: "Point clearly, and then let *us* prove or disprove!" People get persecuted —as they get bitten by dogs—who show themselves afraid. We do not need to be on the defensive about Communists. We owe them nothing. We should sacrifice them with a good conscience when it is inexpedient to defend them. And we should do it with gladness when the dropping of them facilitates the duty we owe to ourselves professionally and to our kind patriotically.

The notion that we can protect ourselves only by protecting them is a thought unworthy both of our cause and of our kind.

Such a view of the admittedly moot matter now before us yields us a leeway of action as touching Communists which no dogmatic view of our duty to defend the freedom of everybody—regardless—permits us. We need this resiliency. Such a view need not issue in complete state uniformity as touching treatment of Communist teachers. In states where the Party is itself outlawed, there might well arise a duty to divest our colleges of all Communists. In states where the Party is legal, the burden of proof is clearly on presidents and regents to show pedagogically unallowable what is legally permissible. Shorn of any duty to fire them, university officials may or may not fire them on grounds of expediency. Many factors would enter into this judgment: their strength in labor unions, their influence in the civil services of state and nation, the stage of the cold war with the Kremlin, the influence of the Hearst press, the tradition of the state as touching hysteria in general, and (circumspectly) the performance of the teachers themselves.

These are some of the factors which weight the dangers of the option: to fire or not to fire. It is well to remember, regardless, that it is expediency which we are judging, not duty. To fire is admittedly dangerous, but to tolerate is not without its dangers. Democrats must make up their minds to live dangerously as long as they are confronted by Communists.

Let us pull together as best we can the various considerations we have been urging by summarizing now as our summary the recent case at the University of Washington, decided by the state regents against retaining overt Communists in the faculty of the state university. It is clear that I do not maintain that their settlement is the only reasonable way for other universities to settle the matter. But I wish to go on record as believing that for the Washington situation the settlement arrived at was not unreasonable.

There are two points in the case that seem to me most worthy of emphasis. The one is that there was no hysteria evident to me as an observer and reporter. True, the investigation was instigated by the un-American activities committee of the state legislature, which, as I have suggested, was quite within its rights. The University recognized, as, of course, it had to recognize, this right. But it, with a wisdom that

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is not usual, demanded, as its right, the chance to handle the question of guilt of those that were accused. It is not the usual stigmata of a witch hunt that the University could claim, obtain and maintain the right to try its own cases in its own decorous way. This situation obtained, indeed, because the University of Washington had been more forehanded than most in setting up in advance the most detailed and complete Administrative Code which I have seen, and in providing therein conditions of tenure, definitions of freedom, and procedures for the trial by faculty members of faculty members accused by the administration.

The other point most worthy of emphasis is that the trial of the accused by the standing faculty committee was, so far as I could see from thumbing more than thirty volumes of evidence, observant of due process, as was indeed the subsequent trial of the accused by the state body of final appeal, the University regents themselves. In both cases the defendants were furnished in advance with the charges, were allowed to conduct their defense in their own way, were represented by counsel of their own choosing, were furnished with their witnesses at University expense, and were in general treated, in true American fashion, as innocent until by open hearings under due process they were adjudged to be guilty.

It does not appear to be my prerogative to sit in judgment upon the sentence itself (that two admitted Communists were dismissed, three past members were retained on probation, and one faculty member who was equivocal, if not evasive, as to Party membership was also dismissed), nor the prerogative of any outsider. It is enough that through judicial proceedings and under continued regard for due and public process, the case was disposed of (subject to subsequent court action). To ask more than this is to ask too much; to ask less than this is to ask too little. I found reassurance upon both points here emphasized in the fact that discrimination as to guilt and as to degrees of guilt appeared in both stages of the trial. The faculty committee was much divided as to the fact of guilt, and even more divided as to reasons for the finding of fact (they recommended by majority vote only one dismissal, and that for diverse reasons: the equivocal or evasive member). The legislative committee pointed a general finger of suspicion. The University lawyer recommended to the regents the outright dismissal of all six whom the University used to test legislative accusation. The President of the University recommended the dismissal of only three of the six. The regents, who were not bound by anybody's recommendation, reached the compromise solution already indicated.

Where expediency is the principle, such division of judgment appears salutary; it points to the use of intelligence rather than a surrender to hysteria or reliance upon duty as determined by dogma. In a federal system of forty-eight states feeling its way toward national policy, this is a procedure which has been often found useful. Why may it not prove so in this moot situation?

Truth at the University of Washington

Helen M. Lynd

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CRITICS and defenders of the current flood of legislation affecting education use the same slogans. Both claim that they are defending freedom to seek the truth. Alexander Meiklejohn believes that such freedom depends upon freedom of political thought and action. Sidney Hook, on the other hand,

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maintains that eliminating Communists promotes academic freedom.

The University of Washington has provided us an opportunity to go beyond abstract discussion of this issue. We now have evidence on what happens when a University sets out to achieve academic freedom by getting rid of Communists. President Allen bases his defense of the action of his University on the responsibility of the educator "to seek the truth wherever it shall lead."[1] He has acted in the belief that we have, on the one hand, the threatening Communist Party; on the other, what he calls "the timeless, selfless quest of truth." We can now discover whether this belief is supported by what has happened at the University of Washington, and where this conception of the means of pursuing truth has led President Allen and is likely to lead others who follow it.

It has led him most recently to reject, or justify rejection of, the recommendations of the Faculty Committee on Tenure. One of the curiosities of this case is the emphasis that T. V. Smith and others have placed on the "due process of law" and the "full and fair hearings" of the tenure committee. It is hard to believe that the impartial justice of these hearings was not affected by the fact that either President Allen or Dean Guthrie, representing the University, was present at almost all hearings of the committee. But, that aside, the more that is said of the adequacy of the committee, the more indefensible appears the action of the President and the Board of Regents. In five out of the six cases, the regents overrode the recommendations of the majority of the tenure committee, in two cases on President Allen's explicit recommendation. In view of the dictatorial action taken, it is easy to understand the widespread feeling that the decision was largely determined in advance, and that the collecting of evidence and bringing on of experts was in the nature of a show piece.

President Allen has repeatedly denied that he and the Regents acted contrary to the findings of the committee. But his recommendation is perfectly clear:

> I recommend that the Board hold with the minority that respondents Butterworth and Phillips are disqualified from membership on the faculty of the University of Washington.[2]

In his press report of the Regents' decision, T. V. Smith wrote:

> The Faculty Committee on Tenure and Academic Freedom had recommended that only one of the six be dismissed. . . . The President recommended that three be dismissed.[3]

The logic by which President Allen justifies his denial that he rejected the majority recommendation is that some members of the majority recommended clarification or revision of the code. But even those who favored revision recognized the obligation to act under the existing code. If the code of a university can be changed after the fact and made retroactive, it is obviously worse than no code at all, since it leads the faculty to place an unjustified reliance on the good faith of the university. In the cases of Eby, Ethel and Jacobs, the recommendation of the committee was unanimous that "the tenure and employment of each of these three respondents *remain undisturbed*." (Italics mine.) The Board of Regents, however, rejected this unanimous recommendation, and created what might be regarded as a maximum "disturbance" of employment by placing these three men on probation for two years. President Allen did not in this case recommend rejection of the decision of the committee, but after the regents had so decided, he pronounced the decision "just."[4] The *University of Washington Daily* reported that President Allen "lauded the action of the regents."[5] What does probation mean? The Board of Regents and President Allen do not say. It may mean being dismissed "at pleasure" by the Board of Regents without stated cause, without even the nominal protection of the tenure code. It may mean any kind of supervision or restraint by the regents. Professor Ethel stated with reference to taking an affidavit that he is not a member of the Communist Party: "Whatever they require of me I intend to comply,"[6] and Professor Jacobs made a similar statement.[7]

Concentration on elimination of Communists as a way of promoting truth leads,

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further, to an ignoring of all accepted canons of teaching and scholarship in judging teachers. This is explicitly stated, both by the state committee on un-American activities, which started the action at the University, and by the tenure committee. The professors were judged solely on the basis of political affiliation, not on the basis of teaching. It was the Communist Party, not the professors, that was being tried both by the state committee and by the University. The chairman of the former said: "We have not inquired into the substance of any teaching."[8] In the hearings before the tenure committee, the administration held that facts about what the individual teacher writes, or does, are unimportant and irrelevant.[9] The committee found that Butterworth and Phillips were "without academic fault . . . competent as scholars . . . and objective as teachers."[10] But this was "irrelevant"; they were members of the Communist Party. Because it was uninterested in the quality of teaching, the University called in no students and no faculty to offer evidence as to the teaching and scholarship of the professors on trial, and when such witnesses and evidence were produced by the defense, they were disregarded because

> . . . we will indulge in the conclusive presumption that every person here charged is sufficiently learned in his field and sufficiently skillful in his teaching, and that he is not using the classroom as a forum for the indoctrination of his students into communism, or anything similar thereto.[11]

Professor Phillips is regarded by many of his colleagues as a person outstanding in integrity; he made a practice at the beginning of each course of telling his classes of certain of his own convictions so that the students could correct for them in their thinking. But the method adopted by the tenure committee precluded any consideration of the actual, demonstrable character of an individual; it permitted concern only with what a man's character was assumed to be from the character of his political affiliation. A person was declared guilty by definition or fiat, not on the basis of overt behavior.

This method of truth-seeking, also, rejected testimony of scholars eminent in the fields represented by the persons under attack. Horace B. English, professor of psychology at Ohio State University (who with Ernest R. Hilgard, president of the American Psychological Association, Jerome S. Brunner of Harvard, Edward C. Tolman of California, and others, supported Professor Gundlach) wrote: "The important thing as I see it is that he is a sound scholar who does his work well, and that he is a sincere and courageous exponent of real American democracy." But these were things of no importance in this investigation. When at the meeting of the Board of Regents on January 22, 1949, a statement was presented from Lewis M. Terman, chairman of the Department of Psychology at Stanford, ending, "If Gundlach should be dismissed because of his radical beliefs and radical activities, I feel certain that this would bring more discredit upon the University than upon the victim. . . . I doubt very much [whether] any reputable psychologist in the country could be induced to fill the vacancy thus created." Mr. Griffin, attorney for the University Administration, commented, "The letter came from no amateur. Terman is listed three times in the index of the Un-American Activities Committee."

Who were the witnesses more important to the University in its pursuit of truth than such eminent scholars? In addition to various local ex-Communists of dubious reputation, they were: a Mr. Bacon of the Portland, Oregon, police force; two professional anti-Communists—Mr. Joseph Zack Cornfedder and Mr. Benjamin Gitlow (hired on March 30, 1949, by the Illinois Legislature's Seditions Activities Commission to help it hunt for Communists in Chicago colleges[12]); and Professor Sophus Winther of the Department of English of the University of Washington, author of an article published anonymously in *Harpers Magazine* in July, 1937, which purported to be a factual account of the experiences of a professor in the Communist Party, but which he now said was an imaginative treatment of facts not to be taken as literal in detail.

The conception of personal integrity fos-

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tered by a method of truth-seeking which has higher regard for witnesses like Gitlow and Cornfedder than Lewis M. Terman, or Melvin Rader of the Department of Philosophy at Washington, is what one might expect. At the hearings before the Un-American Activities Committee last summer, pressure was put on the men under attack to inform against their colleagues, and the administration attitude before the tenure committee appeared to be regret that they had not done so. It is reported that similar pressure may be a part of the probation of Eby, Ethel and Jacobs. Professor Eby said before the un-American activities committee that his attorney had advised him to answer all questions, but: "I find that I couldn't face myself and live any more if I were to name people that are my friends and associates who as far as I know are honorable and loyal."[13]

The logic with which President Allen and the Board of Regents interpret testimony presents further difficulties. A member of the Communist Party, by definition, according to the logic of the University, cannot tell the truth. But testimony about the Party by experts like Edward Strong of the University of California and Paul Sweezy, formerly of Harvard, was said to be described as useless by President Allen since they had never been members of the Party.[14] Ex-Communists like Benjamin Gitlow and George Hewitt (the latter a witness before the Un-American Activities Committee), on the other hand, who, according to their own accounts, practiced "trickery and deceit" for years, were regarded as acquiring a sudden ability to tell the truth upon leaving the Party. Phillips and Butterworth should be dismissed, not for anything they have ever said or done, but for the sole reason that they are members of the Communist Party. But Professor Gundlach is not only not a Communist, but his whole analysis of social issues is non-Marxian. Why then should Professor Gundlach be dismissed after twenty-two years at the University? Because—among three other somewhat shifting grounds—he has participated in activities and organizations in the community which were, also, supported by Communists. The tenure committee states that although he spent much time in connection with such organizations,

> there is, however, no basis for finding that the time so consumed has seriously interfered with the discharge of his duties as a member of the faculty. Neither is there any basis for finding that, in such activities, he has exploited his University connection.[15]

President Allen wanted Gundlach dismissed because, though neither a Communist nor a Marxist, he has "done more for the Party than any other respondent."[16]

A teacher should be free to follow "truth wherever it shall lead," but not if it leads him to support civil rights for Negroes, or old-age pensions, or the Spanish Republicans—or any other activities as a citizen which might invite criticism. Why? Because, in President Allen's words, the pursuit of truth should be not only "so objective that it will withstand the fire of criticism from . . . colleagues," but also that it will withstand the "*tough, hard-headed world of affairs.*"[17] (Italics mine.) The pursuit of truth, then, must lead either to a dead end of inactivity, or to activity approved not only by the majority of the profession, but by the "tough, hard-headed world of affairs." What major discoveries would have been made or what social movements initiated if they had to meet, first, the test of acceptance by the majority of the profession and, second, acceptance by the reigning powers in the world of affairs? According to this view, teaching must be so lacking in vigor that it can offend no one, and the "timeless, selfless quest of truth" becomes identical with winning approval from the groups most powerful in the immediate society.

But, President Allen maintains, the University of Washington welcomes diversity of opinion; it wants, not a Communist Party member certainly, but an "intellectual Marxist" on its faculty. Who is this intellectual Marxist who demonstrates the liberalism of the University of Washington? He is Professor Ethel placed on "probation" by the Board of Regents, a decision President Allen pronounced "just."

It is hard to avoid the conclusion that

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President Allen and those who stand with him wanted to get these six men out of the University, or to discipline them to conformity, by whatever evidence or logical devices would serve these ends in each case. How is such thinking possible for educated men vested with educational responsibility?

John Dewey raised a similar question in a similar situation: in his analysis of the report of the Fuller Advisory Committee, which inquired into the justice of the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti.[18] Professor Dewey's conclusion is:

> It is next to a psychological commonplace that men, especially men of trained minds, reason in such an inverted fashion only when influenced by some covert factor.[19]

The covert factor in the Washington situation is the activity of the Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities, in the highly charged atmosphere of Washington state politics, in the present fearful climate of opinion.

A university administrator, particularly in a tax-supported institution, is today beset by pressures hard to withstand. President Allen is in an especially difficult position, since he came to the University of Washington with a medical school rather than general education background, and with no experience of Washington state politics.

The 1946 state election brought in a conservative legislature which authorized the appointment of a Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities under the chairmanship of Albert F. Canwell—called locally the Canwell Committee. This committee cooperated with the similar Tenney Committee in California, and modeled itself on the national Dies-Rankin-Thomas Committee to the extent of importing the same set of witnesses. The legislature which appointed the Canwell Committee restricted the legislation for old-age pensions, and appropriated over $25,000,000 for a much-needed medical school at the University of Washington. The whole investigation at the University, and specifically the action of the tenure committee, was undertaken at the instigation of the Canwell Committee. The kind of thinking that supports the decision of the Regents is suggested by the fact that T. V. Smith, as a Congressman from Illinois, voted in January, 1940, for a continuation of the Dies Committee[20] and that Albert F. Canwell, speaking at Cheney, Washington, on October 6, 1948, said: "If someone insists there is discrimination against Negroes in this country, or that there is inequality of wealth, there is every reason to believe that person is a Communist."[21]

The committee operated according to a pattern now familiar to anyone who has followed the workings of the Dies-Rankin-Thomas Committee, with paid investigators trying to induce faculty members to inform on one another, and "hearings of evidence." Characteristic of the latter is that J. B. Matthews, familiar as a witness in Washington, D. C., included in his denunciations in Seattle Edward U. Condon of the Federal Bureau of Standards, J. Robert Oppenheimer of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, Ralph Barton Perry and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., of Harvard, and General Dwight D. Eisenhower as fronting for Communists.[22] Characteristic, too, is the fact that George Hewitt of New York, another professional anti-Communist, is now under indictment for perjury, for charges brought against Melvin Rader, although President Allen says the committee did not "smear liberals with a red brush." A third witness was Howard Rushmore of the New York *Journal American*, who is now testifying in the same capacity in Illinois.

There is some question as to how far it is necessary for the administration of even a tax-supported institution to support the work of such a committee, and how far an independent president can maintain an independent stand. But whatever the necessities of the situation, the support given by the Administration of the University of Washington seems to be considerably in excess of minimum requirements. The administration during the spring of 1948 requested not only that every faculty member answer questions asked by the committee, but, also, that no faculty individual or group make any

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statement criticizing the committee. Insofar as it is possible to sort out the actual grounds for Professor Gundlach's dismissal, a central cause seems to be that he did not fully cooperate with the President in his cooperation with the Canwell Committee. In the report of the Canwell Committee to the legislature, Mr. Canwell and President Allen exchange congratulations on the cooperation each had from the other, and in the handbill used in Mr. Canwell's campaign for re-election, statements from President Allen, endorsing the work of the Committee, are quoted with those from the President of the Board of Regents and from the American Legion.

Even in terms of political and financial pressures, it was perhaps unnecessary for President Allen to go quite as far as he did in his support of the Canwell Committee. In the November, 1948, election, Representative Canwell and two of the three other members of his Committee running for re-election were defeated. There seems to be some basis for the statement of the Washington Committee for Academic Freedom that:

> The undemocratic procedures of this Committee have shocked both liberals and conservatives. For example, Mr. Alfred J. Schweppe, former dean of the University Law School and past president of the Washington Bar Association, in an address before the Seattle Bar Association, declared that the Canwell Committee had itself engaged in un-American activities.

In trying to discover exactly what conception of the "quest of truth" the administration of the University supports we must examine, not only the Canwell Committee, but the composition and methods of the Board of Regents. The Board is made up of seven members: Joseph Drumheller, a leading Spokane industrialist who operates the Drumheller Laboratories; Thomas Balmer, vice-president and Western counsel of the Great Northern Railway Company, a director of the Seattle National Bank of Commerce; Clarence J. Coleman, Winlock W. Miller, George R. Stuntz, all lawyers; John L. King, director of radio and research for the Washington State Grange; and Dave Beck. Dave Beck is vice-president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, chairman of the Western Conference of Teamsters. His methods have been to organize labor and business and politics, with the aid of whatever forces in the community could be made to serve his ends.[23] According to the December, 1948, *Fortune*, Dave Beck has been for more than a decade:

> . . . the undisputed boss of Seattle and the Pacific Northwest. . . . Today he is mapping a set of organizing drives that, if successful, will make him the most powerful labor leader in the U. S. . . . Beck's drive is part of a long-range scheme to create a union structure that controls the processing, handling, and distribution of all products in the U. S. . . . Beck practically controls the production, delivery, and sale of food in the Northwest.

A main plank in this campaign is Beck's consistent "anti-Red" drive. He is vice-president of the Board of Regents and chairman of the Finance Committee of the University of Washington.

President Allen submitted his recommendations to the Board on January 17. On January 20 the Hearst newspaper, the Seattle *Post Intelligencer*, reported that three members of the Board—Drumheller, president of the Board, Beck and Stuntz—favored the dismissal of all six professors. Dave Beck flew back from Chicago and reached Seattle in time for a special meeting of the Board on Saturday, January 22. In spite of strong urging that the Board delay decision until they had time either to read the testimony before the tenure committee or allow respondents to assemble pertinent data from it, a decision regarded as "closed"[24] was reached at this three-hour meeting and was announced on Sunday. The transcript of the hearings before the tenure committee runs to over 3,000 typed pages, with 125 supplementary documents.

It was technically possible for the Regents to study this material, which was typed as the hearings proceeded. Their swift decision, however, lends substance to the belief that their action was influenced less by such study than by the fact that the University budget and renewed appropriations for investigation of "subversive" activities were currently under consideration by the legislature. The result of the January twenty-second meeting was the dismissal

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of three men, each of whom had been at the University approximately twenty years, as of February first with no severance salary.

Subsequent events have made it abundantly clear that, with all the talk of "Communist conspiracy," the real target of attack is not Communists, but anyone who might be described as liberal in thought or who engages in any progressive social action. Everyone involved in the case has stressed that "this is only a beginning."[25] The prosecuting attorney for the county accused a reporter of the Hearst *Post Intelligencer*, self-described as "the father of the Canwell Committee," of trying to force his resignation because he would not drop the perjury charges against George Hewitt.[26] The reporter and Canwell replied that federal agents for the Department of Justice sought dismissal of the case against Hewitt because Hewitt is wanted as an important witness in certain federal cases, and the pending perjury charge would "raise a question as to the credibility of Hewitt's testimony."[27] President Allen says that they will get on to having other groups at the University under investigation,[28] and that young instructors who are reported to fear that they face thought control are "just as immature in their thinking as the Communists. . . . I am not going to be unhappy if some resign."[29] Harold Laski has been outspoken in his criticism of communism, but George Stuntz advocated that the regents ban Laski from speaking on the campus, although Laski had not even been asked to speak.[30] Canwell in his election leaflet denounced not only Communists, but anyone who criticized his committee as "ignorant or subversive." The Canwell Committee in its report to the Legislature in January, 1949, recommended that powers of legislative investigating committees should be extended since the F.B.I. is "limited by law" in the steps it may take; that textbooks be screened by the legislature; and that no action for slander or libel should lie against anyone labeling as a Communist a person who can be proved to be a member of three or more Communist front organizations officially declared subversive.[31]

This can mean anything. Any organization which has, or has had, Communist support can be pronounced by someone in power "party line" or "subversive," and a person can be penalized for supporting it, or for having done so even at a time when it was not declared subversive.

Freedom and truth must be sought in the world we live in, not in a vacuum. With the worst that anyone can say about the Communist Party, I cannot discover any reading of this evidence which supports the belief that there can be more dictatorial power over teachers in the United States by the Communist Party than by boards of regents, or that the search for truth is more threatened by Communists than by arbitrary action of boards of regents and Canwell committees. I cannot discover any reading of this evidence which supports the belief that purging Communists is in the interests of independent teaching, or of democracy.

Any liberal who has had the experience of working in any community agencies also supported by Communists knows that this is a time-consuming and often difficult activity. And anyone who has ever participated in the appointment and decisions about retention of a faculty knows that "competence" and effect on students are extraordinarily difficult to judge. This, President Allen has stated, takes too much time.[32] It is, nevertheless, the central problem for education, and we divert attention from it by concentrating on communism. Democracy and education and truth-seeking are serious, time-consuming processes. Freedom in these enterprises is not an isolated phenomenon; capacity, association with others, the atmosphere in which one works—are all part of it. One further difficulty we must face: we cannot at the same time say that a teacher may be a member of the Communist Party if he declares it openly and say that if he declares it he will be dismissed. Here again, we must deal not only with theories but with historical realities.

We are concerned with education in democracy. But we cannot teach democracy by praising freedom while practicing dicta-

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tion. We cannot open closed minds by confronting them with other closed minds. Three days before the Board of Regents handed down its decision, T. V. Smith, introduced by Dean Guthrie, gave a talk in Seattle on communism. He said: "I can provide the names of thirty eminent biologists [in Russia] who are without jobs because their ideas were not in agreement with the Soviet leaders."[33] He could now start a similar list for the United States with three professors from the University of Washington, two from Oregon State College, and I do not know how many from Olivet, who are without jobs because their ideas are not in agreement with persons in power.

The thing that stands out most clearly in all this is that when Communists are made the focus of attack, the main damage is done, not to Communists, but to all independent thought and action. As Dr. Meiklejohn says, "All teachers are placed on probation." And all teaching and all students and all democratic activity are thereby impoverished. The actual effect of this approach to academic freedom is to drive communism underground and to cast suspicion on anyone who supports any liberal or progressive cause.

More than a hundred members of the faculty of the University of Washington, all of professorial rank, have issued an Open Letter to President Allen and the Board of Regents protesting the action of the University. Others said that they would like to sign the protest, but hesitated to make any open statement in the atmosphere now prevailing on the University of Washington campus. The statement concludes:

> We believe, finally, that the action taken has already done serious damage to the University and to the cause of education. The reputation of the University as a center of free inquiry has declined; the *esprit de corps* that gives confidence and character to any institution has deteriorated; and the University of Washington has invited education to join it in a retreat from freedom which, if it continues, will weaken the morale which is democracy's best defense against totalitarian communism.[34]

President Drumheller, of the Board of Regents, said that the action of the Regents "serves notice everywhere throughout the country that the University of Washington is notifying Communists to stay away from this campus."[35] Professor Randall of Columbia University believes that it serves notice to others:

> One wonders how a self-respecting teacher could consider future service in an institution in which the guarantees universally associated with "academic freedom" seem to be so completely exposed to the vagaries of political pressure.[36]

And this is not all. While this decision of the University of Washington stands, it is a threat to every teacher who values scholarship and responsible teaching above conformity, and to every student who desires to exercise independent judgment, rather than to be forced to political orthodoxy.

NOTES

1. *Communism and Academic Freedom: Record of the Tenure Cases at the University of Washington*, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1949, p. 96.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
3. *Herald Tribune*, Jan. 24, 1949.
4. *Record*, p. 18.
5. February 4, 1949.
6. N. Y. *Times*, January 24, 1949.
7. Seattle *Post Intelligencer*, January 24, 1949.

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8. Canwell Campaign Leaflet, fall, 1948.
9. *Transcript of Tenure Committee,* Vol. I, pp. 44-45; 120-22; Vol. II, p. 947.
10. N. Y. *Times,* January 30, 1949.
11. *Transcript of Tenure Committee,* Vol. XVIII, pp. 1821-22.
12. N. Y. *Times,* March 31, 1949.
13. *Second Report on Un-American Activities,* p. 203.
14. Cf. the statement of Chairman Gose, *Transcript of Tenure Committee,* Vol. XIV, p. 1363
15. *Record,* p. 65.
16. *Ibid.,* p. 101.
17. *Ibid.,* pp. 110, 111.
18. "Psychology and Justice," in *Characters and Events,* Vol. II, Holt, 1929.
19. *Ibid.,* p. 533.
20. Congressional Record, Vol. 86, Part I, p. 605.
21. Mr. Canwell spoke from notes and there was no stenographic report of his speech. Several responsible people took notes independently, compared them later, and found themselves in substantial agreement on what Mr. Canwell had said.
22. *The Second Report on Un-American Activities in the State of Washington,* Olympia, 1948, pp. 53-55; 61; 42; 44-45. For an account of the career of J. B. Matthews see the *New Yorker,* April 22, 1944.
23. Richard L. Neuberger, *Our Promised Land,* Macmillan, 1939, p. 196.
24. University of Washington *Daily,* January 25, 1949; N. Y. *Times,* January 24, 1949.
25. Seattle *Post Intelligencer,* January 26, 1949.
26. *Ibid.,* February 2, 1949.
27. *Ibid.,* February 3, 1949. The federal Attorney General denied any interest in Hewitt's case, *ibid.,* February 6, 1949.
28. Town Meeting of the Air, March 1, 1949.
29. N. Y. *Times,* February 11, 1949; special from Seattle by Lawrence E. Davies.
30. Spokane *Chronicle,* March 24, 1949.
31. *Report of Committee on Un-American Activities,* p. 25.
32. Town Meeting.
33. University of Washington *Daily,* January 20, 1949.
34. *Ibid.,* April 7, 1949.
35. N. Y. *Times,* January 24, 1949.
36. *Ibid.,* February 18, 1949.

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The Reader Replies . . .

The Reader Replies *regularly carries comments by readers on the contents of the preceding American Scholar Forum. In the Autumn number, for example,* The Reader Replies *will contain letters about the debate in the current number on the subject: "Communism and Academic Freedom." In the current number, however, the unusual interest in Henry Silver's article, "The Conservative University Press," have caused us to run the comments on it first. In addition, miscellaneous letters of comment on various articles appear in this department. All communications should be addressed to: The Editor,* THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, *415 First Avenue, New York 10, N. Y., and should not exceed 300 words in length, except for comments on the previous Forum, which may run to 500. Because of limitations of space, the editors cannot guarantee to print all communications received. Letters intended for publication in the Autumn number should be mailed before July 10. (Editor)*

THE CONSERVATIVE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Human Brains, Not Gadgets

Mr. Silver writes like a crusader and pioneer, which he is. We need crusaders and pioneers in all fields, and certainly in scholarly publishing. Unfortunately, crusaders and pioneers seem to believe their remedy is a panacea for all ills. They tend to ignore all aspects of a problem except the one their crusade is aimed at, and they fail to see the interrelationships of a set of problems.

It may be oversimplifying, but Mr. Silver's plea seems to be: use cheaper methods of reproducing the written word, and all the problems of scholarly publishing will be solved. This is a bit as though a general said: "Put cheaper uniforms on the soldiers and win the war faster."

Of course, every work of scholarship should be produced in the form which, all things considered, is the most economical and appropriate. This means that some books now produced by letterpress should appear in mimeographed form, or offset from typewritten copy. Probably university presses have not gone so far in this direction as they should.

More fundamental is the fact that reproduction is only one part, and not the most important part, of publishing. Cheaper printing will not produce scholars who write clear, compact English. The proper editing of a manuscript costs money, and few authors are competent to deal directly with a printer, whether he uses a linotype or a typewriter. Periodicals do not allow lower advertising rates for books produced by offset, nor does the post office grant lower postage to circulars selling such books. The physical form has no bearing on the cost of billing a customer, wrapping the book for shipment, or collecting the money—and even scholars do not always pay bills promptly.

There must always be scholarly books for scholars only. But cheaper production

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techniques could merely encourage the publication of unimportant and poorly written works of scholarship.

The problems of university press publishing are more basic and more complicated. There must be more scholars who can and will interpret their special knowledge to a wider public, not just to their fellow experts. In the presses there must be greater willingness to experiment with ideas and more effort to bring together potential authors and their potential publics. Literary editors must give such books fair treatment. The schools must turn out people unafraid of serious reading.

All these problems are related, and the individuals and institutions concerned must go forward together. If university presses are conservative, so are scholars, so are critics, so are schools. So is human nature. There is much to be done, and the presses must assume their share of the leadership, but advances in printing technology are merely means to an end. The problems of scholarly publishing will have to be solved by human brains, not by gadgets.

Fon W. Boardman, Jr.
Columbia University Press

The Scholar's the Culprit

The basic question Mr. Silver poses in his able and provocative article is more one of scholarship putting its house in order than of the scholarly publishers doing so. Not that the publisher is blameless, for it is true, as Mr. Silver says, that generally he abhors any kind of impression which is not letterpress.

However, scholarship is a process of continuous questioning and of discovery. Consequently, the conclusions of research are more apt to be tentative—that is, progress reports—than conclusive. Only the latter deserve letterpress publication. The former frequently require a form of publication, so that scholarship at large may be kept abreast of developments. And such publication should be in the cheapest form which combines legibility with convenience.

Now, in essence, it is the scholar who is the arbiter of what is published. No university press, so far as I know, publishes without the approval of scholarly critics, and usually, of a scholarly publishing committee. And, because the ephemeral is so rarely distinguished from the permanent, the scholar who has had the misfortune to become an author, is himself usually the most insistent that the most costly and most wasteful form of publication be employed.

So it is the scholar in the "wordy" disciplines—the humanities and the social studies—who must learn to steel himself in the fashion of the "uncommunicative" disciplines—the natural and the physical sciences—to a proper evaluation of the manner of publication. Long ago, the "pure" sciences recognized the tentative nature of many of their conclusions, and the interdependence of their progress with scientific scholarship as a whole, with the result that sometimes the work of a lifetime could be summarized intelligibly in a paragraph abstract. The wordy disciplines are not so fortunate, but, at least, they might begin the valuable task of self-scrutiny.

Joseph A. Brandt
Santa Fé, New Mexico

The Side of the Angels

Everyone of good will must wish Henry Silver well in his ambition to introduce rational economies into scholarly publishing. There is waste at present, and as there does not seem to be enough money to do everything that needs doing, reduction in expense is sensible.

I cannot quite go along, however, in his faith that substitution of the typewriter for the linotype will accomplish all miracles short of curing the common cold. Existing equipment is useful, and other devices on the drawing board or in experimental stages promise even greater benefits for all printers and publishers—possibly even revolutionary benefits. But we are not going to proclaim the arrival of the millennium until it gets a little closer in a practical sense. Incidentally, I think Henry is poorly informed as to the extent to which university presses have used "unconventional methods" in the past. Just for one example, my own press has

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regularly used the typewriter for certain kinds of books, and 8 per cent of all the titles we have issued in the last decade used that technique, the percentage being higher for the most recent years. But that is not to question whether Henry is on the side of the angels. He is dead right that, irrespective of who pays the bill, the social cost of many works of specialized scholarship produced in small editions by conventional methods cannot be justified.

Because of the friendly mention of my name in the article, I should like to correct a wrong impression that may have been left with the reader: I do not think that contraception alone, or any other single policy, will meet the requirements. In at least some fields of knowledge there is a need for substantial *increase* in publishing capacity. In short, I would disagree with neither G. E. Bentley nor U. T. Holmes in their quoted opinions which are presented as if representing antipodal points of view. To a considerable degree, it is Mr. Holmes's statement of the need for a constant and ample flow of ideas that makes it especially important to join Mr. Bentley in his hope that wasteful publishing can be reduced. Only by cutting down the waste will there be sufficient resources to do the constructive publishing that is needed. Here again, Henry Silver's campaign is all to the good, and although I differ with him on details I am all for him in general.

Datus C. Smith, Jr.
Director, Princeton University Press

The Heart of the Enterprise

For a long time I have been trying to decide in my own mind whether university presses are as important to scholarship as they sometimes profess to be. Among university press people these days there is considerable pride in the assertion that scholarly publishing has become a lifetime career rather than a stepping stone to eventual success in trade publishing. Generally, I suspect that this is a good attitude; it suggests a less nervous management than once dominated this campus calling. However, this attitude could imply something more: a growing security based upon a confidence in a growing power. It could imply a tendency toward bending scholarship to fit the needs of the university press, and if there is evidence of such a tendency, then it should be thoroughly understood, both in terms of its motivation and its objectives.

Therefore, I would like to explore Mr. Silver's statement that "few publishers have any basic sympathy with the spadework of scholarship." I disagree heartily with Mr. Silver's possible intimation that there is any concentrated conspiracy against footnotes or bibliographical apparatus; if there is any concentrated conspiracy afoot, it is not against these tools of the scholar's craft, but against the type of craftsmanship with which they are used. If a carpenter drives in seven nails where one will do, the increased cost of his labor has not improved its effectiveness; basically, the carpenter has served a poor apprenticeship, and so also have too many scholars.

For the university press editor there are no moments of greater uncertainty than when he talks to the young scholar-author fresh out of graduate school, or to the middle-aged scholar-author who has never quite emerged from the graduate school cocoon. He is up against something. By and large, the most inept editorial direction in the world is fostered in our graduate schools; perhaps there are exceptions that prove the rule, but generally speaking, pedestrian prose flows from the pen of the man frightened to the core of his being by the danger of saying something somebody else hasn't previously approved. Always the university press editor hopes that the young scholar-author, or even the middle-aged scholar-author, will escape from the yoke of graduate school narrowness, with its neat little forms, its ridiculous prejudices of style, and its obvious debasement of individuality, and thus emerge with an ability to think and to write as a self-respecting human being. Always the hope is for a scholar-author who will grow into an articulate personality, into a man of self-reliant thought and tolerable literary style who can master the tools of his craft rather than become mastered by them. Of course,

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such a miracle does not happen overnight.

Every university press editor expects to publish on the lower levels of scholarship, and he recognizes when he does so the graduate school influence in such publishing. As Mr. Barzun once said, such scholarship as this results from taking notes rather than taking thought. But the reason for publishing on this lower level is not an end but a means; in time the university editor hopes to find the scholar-author who can make his mark as a thinker as well as a ferret. It is not the improvement of selling techniques alone, or more economical production methods, or better office management, that has reduced the nervousness in running a university press; the heart of the enterprise remains its editorial purposefulness. Here, if it can meet scholarship on the middle ground that Mr. Silver suggests, it can indeed be a valuable ally on the campus.

Earl Schenck Miers
Director, Rutgers University Press

The Opposite Direction

Mr. Silver brings good news to lovers of humane scholarship: news that will be confirmed by authors delighted to see their books, which commercial publishers have let go out of print, recently given new life by university presses. To have become what soon may be the sole refuge of important books with moderate circulation offers those presses a great opportunity and throws upon them grave responsibility for the cultural life of the nation. But this opportunity and this responsibility, toward which Mr. Silver's article seems to be leading, prove not to be his theme. He laments rather that the permanent and attractive form in which such books appropriately appear has got the presses in the bad habit of putting out ephemeral manuscripts in needlessly expensive dress.

This is undoubtedly true; but lovers of humane scholarship will part company with Mr. Silver when he goes on to stress the obligation of university presses to increase the circulation of such ephemera on the ground that they promote "exchange of ideas, however unpolished—work in progress." For this would set the presses back toward their pedantic past, when scholars wrote solely for scholars. And even scholarly readers are not likely to welcome unpolished ideas; for a badly arranged sentence always corresponds to an inexact thought.

The opportunity for the growing strength of the university press lies in the opposite direction. Outside of universities, intelligent readers are hungry for authoritative books so matured in thought that they have become luminous in expression. University presses are putting out an increasing proportion of those books; but the general reader does not know where to find them. They are inconspicuously advertised and frequently not reviewed in popular or semi-popular publications. For the sparsity of reviews, the presses have themselves to blame, to no small extent. They will have to live down a past when their imprint stigmatized a book as technical or dull. Literary editors must be convinced that they have turned over a new leaf, and are accepting responsibility for the dissemination of knowledge. But this alone will not avail; for it is an open secret that reviewing space and advertising space are not unrelated. Will Mr. Silver, and others with his practical experience, tell us how much university presses, in their present quasi-prosperous state, could afford to spend in promoting books of permanent and moderately wide appeal? Or whether they could contrive means to reach the intelligent public directly, without the mediation of reviewers? The future of democratic culture may be involved in the answers to these questions.

Emery Neff
Department of English, Graduate School
Columbia University

A Suggested Compromise

Henry Silver's article in the Spring AMERICAN SCHOLAR is much too full of ideas and meat for discussion to permit reasoned comment on all its seminal points in a letter such as this. I shall therefore limit myself to a discussion of one idea I think extremely important.

(*Continued on page 374*)

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UNDER WHATEVER SKY

Irwin Edman

On Being Non-omniscient

The night the Russian radio announced the change from Molotov to Vishinsky, I was listening to one of the best of the news commentators. After repeating the facts and speculating for five minutes on the various early interpretations of the meaning of the announcement, he said unexpectedly and refreshingly, "I don't know any more about it than I have already told you"—which, as he seemed clearly to recognize, was not very much. I suspect it would not be very difficult for a speaker or a writer rapidly to acquire a world-wide reputation merely by an honest and candid avowal of his ignorance, or the limitations of his knowledge, concerning the tangled strands of events in the contemporary world.

The habit of omniscience, the inner feeling of certainty, grows of necessity in the professional speaker or teacher or writer. To paraphrase Santayana's comment on teaching, "In the presence of a hundred youthful upturned faces a man can scarcely refrain from saying more than he knows." But the temptation to be apodictic and all-knowing grows even more, I suspect, among those who have to comment daily in print or over the air on the tragic and urgent events of our day. There is a subtle compulsion to lay down the law and extrapolate the meaning. A writer or speaker cannot help knowing that in a time of confusion his professional stock in trade is certainty. The public does not turn to a columnist or a commentator to find simply a mirror of its own doubts and confusions. People listen and read because they hope to have those doubts resolved. If they find a writer or a speaker who provides them with a set of clear dogmas that utter their deepest hopes or fears, they feel they have acquired wisdom. But even those who have found one voice to follow, occasionally by accident hear other and contradictory voices. They learn after a while that there are various brands of omniscience whose claims conflict with each other. They become disillusioned; there arises in their minds the suspicion that no one knows much more than they do and that no one can speak with authority. A man might thus become known, if for nothing else, for his disarming candor, by announcing, as Mr. Edward Murrow did, that he didn't really know. It may be recalled that Socrates regarded as his one claim to wisdom his realization that he was the only man in Athens who knew he didn't know. But of course posterity refuses to take him seriously. Socratic irony, we call it.

Theory of Knowledge

I listened with interest to the visiting philosopher who was reading a paper on some of the problems of knowledge. The ones he was preoccupied with were those familiar enough to professional students of epistemology and strange enough to the undebauched outsider. The visitor was concerned with the validity of perceptions as media of our knowledge of the external world. He was arguing against sense data and for a theory of "appearing." Needless to say, he found himself soon in the midst of numerous paradoxes—metaphysical paradoxes, he called them—in view of the fact that if something appears, there must be something to do the appearing. That unacknowledged philosopher, Winnie the Pooh, at a certain point in his saga, says "I hear a buzz. When there is a buzz there must be something to do the buzzing and the only thing that can buzz like that is a bee." Winnie the Pooh was obviously beginning a long career in epistemology.

But hoary as is the tradition of the theory of knowledge, and uncertain as is the status of perception, I could not help reflecting as I listened to the paper, how singular it is that philosophers should so long have

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selected this particular theme when they begin to talk of "knowledge."

How fantastic it is that human beings should have made a problem of the mere possibility of relationship between the self and the world—between private consciousness and public objects. Without brushing aside the real issues that arise in reflection on knowledge, I could not refrain from thinking of those moments, half-disturbing and half-revealing, when human beings in a sudden access of what seems clarity and vision say to themselves: "Now I know!"

At some unexpected passage in conversation, a friend one has known familiarly for years, by an inadvertent phrase or a casual gesture suddenly lights himself up for us. I leave to students of psychoanalysis and Gestalt psychology the long processes of sub-conscious maturation, the unsuspected movement toward what, when it comes, is a sudden "Eureka," the surprised (though not always delightful) sense of discovery of coherence or meaning. At certain moments usually connected with art or love or friendship, what has been "seen as in a glass darkly," is seen now "face to face."

It makes no difference what is the explanation of this certificate, or the natural history of this authenticity that often without premonition accompanies moments of passion, creation or enjoyment. But any theory of knowledge that presumes to deal with human awareness must deal with these things as well as with "the reality of the external world." There is more awareness of heaven and earth than is dreamed of in the routine analyses of epistemology, or than can be accounted for by the usual vocabulary of perceptions, sense data and the external world. The problem of knowing all of a sudden, of clarity all of a heap, needs to be added to the more conventional puzzles of knowledge. The heart has its knowledge that knowledge does not know.

The Novelty of the Old-fashioned Virtues

Only a few years ago, a novel revolving around the theme of loyalty would have seemed dated and old-hat. Galsworthy's play *Loyalties* seemed a little old-fashioned even a generation ago, and it is a long time since Royce's "Philosophy of Loyalty" and his idea of "loyalty to loyalty" have had any vogue. But the fact of treason in wartime, and the accusations of treason in the postwar world, have made this recently old-fashioned virtue suddenly acutely modern again.

In the same way, there was a time not so long ago when all one had to do was to recite the Victorian cliché, "I was born of poor but honest parents," to draw a laugh. "Honesty is the best policy" was a copybook maxim that one would hesitate to quote seriously. But now in a world given over to conflicting propagandas, at a time when the big and the little lie have become instruments of public policy in many parts of the world, honesty has again become a virtue of crucial timeliness and obvious necessity.

Thus, likewise, it had become the fashion in the twenties to laugh out loud at asceticism, and to hoot at chastity. Who would have predicted that a generation later a novel like *The Razor's Edge*, whether by intention or not a propaganda for the unworldly life, should have millions of readers? And who, incidentally, would have thought that in an age of notorious scepticism there should have been so many books celebrating the simple virtues of faith and of devotion? There are all sorts of moral lessons to be drawn from these phenomena, and I leave it to the reader to draw any one he pleases. The one I should like to draw is the relativity of the old-fashioned and the up-to-date in human feeling, the parochialism of any moment of time. Old-fashioned virtues indeed! Loyalty, honesty, chastity, faith—these seem to be the *avant-garde* of virtues of the present hour; and the preoccupations of leading articles in all the little reviews.

Valley of the Shadow

Everyone recalls as a child or in youth saying with heartfelt sincerity: "I will remember this the rest of my life," or "I shall treasure this always," or "I shall read books till the day I die." "The rest of one's life,"

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"always," "till the day I die": there was a good deal of emotional capital invested in those terms, for those terms meant an infinite perspective. To the young, "always" seems a very long time indeed, and "the rest of one's life," when one is young, is an endlessly long stretch. "Till the day I die" seems, though even the young know better, to be eternity.

These reflections occurred to me the other day when a friend claimed to be depressed by the imminence of his fiftieth birthday. He was somber with thoughts of mortality, and I tried to cheer him. I reminded him of how, at the age of fifty, the passions presumably were less pressing, the agitations of ambition less compulsive. One had learned to cultivate one's garden or to tend one's tropical fish. Even the major anxieties of the world one could face with prospective detachment, and the major hopes of the world with the generosity of a mind looking beyond one's own day and one's own involvement.

My friend had thought of all those cool comforts. But he reminded me of a few things too, less comforting. It was too late by now even to consider further the major projects still unbegun. The postponements one had extravagantly repeated from year to year were not so expendable any more. The vista of infinite alternatives was by now narrowed; the choices were fewer, and each one made was more clearly final. The languages one had not learned, the countries one had not visited—there were still many of those, and one could not learn all tongues, explore all lands. What was more, he pointed out, the desire of choosing itself vanished with each successive postponement.

"And there are other things you have forgotten," he said. "Under fifty, I had the foolish feeling of being the contemporary of everyone except the very old. I could talk without a sense of barrier to anyone between twenty-five and fifty. I fancied until very recently that even the very young regarded me as their chronological equal. But I don't any more. I look across the chasm of the years to those who do not recall President Wilson, or Roosevelt in his first term, or the beginning of radio and the sound movies, or the time when Freud and Joyce were novelties, and Rockefeller Center a blueprint. Moreover, older people with whom I have gradually come to feel at home are suddenly quitting this world. The obituary pages are filled with the names of my friends, and babies are being born who will not believe I ever could have been young. And I leave out," he said, "the increasing physical disabilities."

"Look here," I said, "you exaggerate. Just wait a while; wait," I said with the portentousness of one who has already entered the valley of the shadow, "until you are fifty-two!"

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The Sorceror and the Goosegirl

Virginia Esterly Dunbar

Lay those silly goslings down
And take from each a milky feather
And we will put a spell upon
Bird and beast and the high weather

And the thin dry blood of love.
Three times around a broken circle
Marked with the bone of a mourning dove . . .
And down like wasps come the quarreling grackle

And the delicate deer with an amber crown
Looks at last at his cloven hoof
And strikes in a pagan dawn.
And fire becomes the weather's roof.

And the thin dry blood of love?
Oh, lay those silly goslings down!

✪ The work of VIRGINIA ESTERLY DUNBAR has been published in the *Yale Review*, *Sewanee Review*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Pacific Spectator*, the New York *Times* and THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR.

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The Revolving Bookstand

Ichabod Crane Attacks Modern Art

Jerome Mellquist

Mona Lisa's Mustache, by T. H. Robsjohn-Gibbings. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $3.00
Paul Cézanne, by John Rewald. New York: Simon & Schuster. $5.00
Cézanne: His Life and Work, by Bernard Dorival. New York: Continental Book Centre. $12.50
Cézanne, by André Leclerc. New York: Hyperion Press, Crown Publishers. $.59
Picasso: An Intimate Portrait, by Jaime Sabartés. New York: Prentice-Hall. $5.00
Verve. Couleur de Picasso ("Antipolis"). New York: Jeanette Rocart, distributor. $10.00
Picasso Lithographs, edited by Bernard Geiser. New York: Curt Valentin. $3.00
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Jacques Villon, by Paul Éluard and René-Jean. New York: Louis Carré. Wittenborn-Schultz, distributor. $4.75
American Landscape Painting, by Wolfgang Born. New Haven: Yale University Press. $7.50
Milestones of American Painting in Our Century, by Frederick S. Wight. New York: Chanticleer Press. $5.00
John Marin, by Mackinley Helm. New York: Pellagrini & Cudahy. $6.50

If an Ichabod Crane should start shouting in his country schoolhouse that T. S. Eliot was an incompetent who deserved none of his recent laurels, the informed public would smile and dismiss him as a harmless eccentric. But if a number of equally stuffy gentlemen broadcast anathema against modern art, they are not consigned to some rural backwater of the American mind, but instead are granted a solemn hearing and even some bewildered applause. Whether this is because we still take our Ichabod Cranes seriously in the realm of art, or whether we have been somewhat impaired in our clarity by postwar and other confusions, or whether the critics of better temper have simply failed to provide enlightenment—the fact remains that the public has been temporarily blocked in its appreciation of modern art, and it is now time that the stream should once more be released.

Just when did this blockade take place? Though one can find a critic declaring as early as 1874 that Cézanne was afflicted with delirium tremens, the present tense, so to speak, of a long-continued discussion can be located with the publication, late in 1947, of Robsjohn-Gibbings' stricture against modern art entitled *Mona Lisa's Mustache*. Flourishing his trumpets and blasting away like a St. George on a charger, this enterprising interior decorator rushed forward with the *communiqué* that we are greatly endangered. Some seventy-five years ago, it seems, an evil-minded coterie in England —Dante Gabriel Rossetti and his Pre-Raphaelites—sat about some midnight fires and devised a plot against the daylight mind. Art, they said, originated in mystic rites, and it was only for the initiated. Whereupon they sealed a bond with blood from their wrists and proceeded to contaminate their contemporaries. Ever since, other contaminators—Gauguin, Kandinsky, a German experimenter, and Mme. Blavatsky, the spiritualist—have been busy at their nefarious negotiations.

Confronting such a charge, it can only be said that surely, in the last few decades, enthusiasts must have uttered mumbo-jumbo about the great cause of art—just as many a raddled intellect has spouted misunderstanding on relativity without benefit of Einstein. But no solid art historian, whether it be Elie Faure, Roger Fry, or even

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JEROME MELLQUIST is the author of *The Emergence of an American Art* and co-editor of the symposium, *Paul Rosenfeld: Voyager in the Arts*. Mr. Mellquist is lecturing this summer on American art at the Salzburg Seminar in Austria.

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the late Royal Cortissoz, an inveterate enemy of the modern movement, ever claimed that it originated in magic. As for Mr. Robsjohn-Gibbings' second charge, that contemporary painters and sculptors can all be lumped together as fascists, this is equally without foundation. On the contrary, it was Hitler who barred all modern art from Germany as not conforming to his ideology, and Franco, at the present writing, still has not declared himself a patron of Picasso. It would have been far more correct to say that contemporary painters and sculptors have almost universally abhorred fascism, and portrayed it accordingly.

If these, the principal props to Mr. Robsjohn-Gibbings' Temple of Distaste, are so weak, it might be inquired as to why his book has achieved a certain popularity. This can best be accounted for on the bump-and-hollow principle. Find a half-truth—correct it with another half-truth—and the "demonstration" will seem convincing. For it is a fact that adherents—both critical and otherwise—have sometimes discussed modern art with the clouded thought and jumbled expression of addicts who alone had the keys to heaven. Again, certain *cognoscenti* have swept about among modern pictures as if they had here a sanctuary too remote for the democratic populace to penetrate. Even so, painting since Cézanne still shines with all its glory—it speaks to everyone—and can neither be displaced nor tarnished by the acclaim of the unworthy.

Nevertheless, once Mr. Robsjohn-Gibbings had created a momentary stir, other Galahads rushed in to join the battle. Writing in *Harpers*, Lincoln Kirstein, a ballet-enthusiast and art-patron, accused the modern artist of lacking technique and of not having acquired sufficient luster as a man of learning. Abstractly, these complaints well might be applauded, but they do not stand up under examination. Long ago, for instance, it was claimed that Delacroix could not manipulate paint effectively, that Van Gogh was a madman, that Renoir floundered into a morass of red when he painted his final nudes—yet in every case posterity has not approved the critic. Surely Mr. Kirstein could have found a better label for his vial of discontent. As for the matter of book-learning, it might be remembered that Goya was no star in mathematics, nor Watteau in the subtleties of astronomy, yet both are pretty well remembered today. This is not to say that every bearded spouter in Greenwich Village should be suffered gladly, but it still behooves a critic to tabulate such objections with the utmost care.

And yet Mr. Kirstein's bill of complaints reached a further public, just as the injunction from Boston's Institute of Contemporary Art—derogating the very term "modern"—prompted further misgivings in other minds. Finally, as if to conclude this file of the snipers, came a shower of grapeshot from the director of the Metropolitan Museum, Francis Henry Taylor. Upholding, he said, the Dignity of Man in Art, he did so rather curiously by running up a few faded pennants for the past and then by dubbing the modern artist a "flat-chested pelican." Having delivered that mortal gunfire, he galloped off to other fields with his blunderbuss still smoking.

II

If these, then, are the Ichabod Cranes holding back our appreciation of modern art, where are we to turn for more positive instruction? Reliable guidance might first be found in Sheldon Cheney's *Primer of Modern Art*, a book far less rudimentary than its title might suggest. Though published over twenty years ago, this guide is still useful because it spots the principal landmarks with accuracy, welcomes new turns in the road, and imparts both a confidence and zest for following them farther. Unfortunately, it has not yet been revised so as to incorporate the many new explorations conducted by artists in the last two decades. A more advanced work and one published in 1939, is R. H. Wilenski's excellent chronological treatment of the entire span from 1873 to 1939. While adding a dozen years to the Cheney account, this volume has also not been revised (though a new edition is promised shortly), and thus a gap of ten years still remains. What is greatly needed, therefore, is a single well-

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Meanwhile, such a study still being awaited, the reader might next turn to three books on Cézanne, who, even though he worked mostly in the nineteenth century, still dominates the horizon of twentieth century painting. The first of these books, a biography by John Rewald, might be compared to a detective's dossier. Mr. Rewald has compiled a full sheaf of data on his subject, much of it, unfortunately, repeating what he already did in his study of some ten years back, but ferreting out, nevertheless, certain further facts of interest. Cézanne, one learns, was born at Aix-en-Provence in 1839, attended local schools, where one of his boyhood friends was Zola; first attempted study of the law but then, at the instigation of Zola, moved to Paris to train himself as a painter. The investigator tracks his man into various *ateliers*, describes his differences with instructors, then follows him into independent studies at the Louvre, and eventually pictures him entering a *liaison* with a model. Meantime, Cézanne still sees Zola, who, having become a journalist on art, already was championing the rising Impressionists. Presently Paul quits Paris; still later he parts from Zola too; and thereafter, in solitude, develops that composition by receding planes which superseded the academic perspective teachers had been superimposing ever since the Renaissance. Even before his death in 1906, the lonely painter, whose life surely had been a penitential way, was honored by the younger men who saw that he had altered art irrevocably.

Mr. Rewald, having thought that documents alone would convey this story, has left out the shadings and interpretation that

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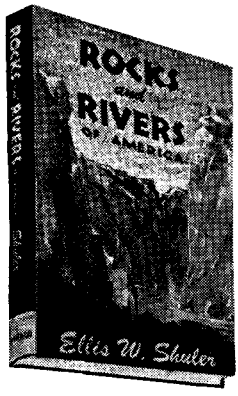

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might have made it into something more than a factual report. This, the real job of criticism, has been undertaken by Bernard Dorival, conservateur of the Museum of Modern Art in Paris, who has furnished the best stylistic account on the Master of Aix. This he does under several clearly established rubrics—Cézanne's apprenticeship, his tie and break with Impressionism, his forceful middle years, and the smoky, tormented final span when he flung up a vault on his own buried personality, and at last assumed his complete stature as an artist. Accompanying this account are no less than 160 plates, uniformly distinct and sizable, which actually show the reader what the brush had been doing. Possibly the most imposing work comes in the spreading water-vistas (such as "The Gulf of Marseilles As Seen from L'Estaque" at the Metropolitan Museum), the tranquil still-lifes emerging somewhat later, the reverberating swell of his Mt. Sainte-Victoire canvases (those canvases where he broke up even his connecting planes to split a landscape into a mosaic of cubes, cones and cylinders), and finally his portraits—where, quite aside from his structural force, one meets an absolute integrity of interpretation as impressive, at least on this score, as a Rembrandt's. If the reader lacks time for either of these two more demanding works on Cézanne, he might consult the trim volume by André Leclerc, one of a series of compact, well-illustrated volumes recently issued by Crown. These furnish useful biographical background and help the beginner who otherwise might falter.

If next one turns to Picasso, as exemplified in a Boswellian account by Jaime Sabartés, long a companion of the iconoclastic modern, the transition to a later phase of painting will be accomplished without difficulty. For Sabartés relates that he has known the subject ever since their boyhood days in Spain; he remembers Picasso's early competence as a draughtsman, and hunger-ridden times in Paris when Picasso did the wavering acrobats and mountebanks of first his Blue and then his Rose Period. He supplies oblique understanding, at least, to that more difficult phase when, as a Cubist, the Spanish rebel discharged all color from his

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canvases and sought to compose a painting by sheer planes and facets, as if he would reduce all to diamonds or other many-sided volumes. Skipping through many years, Sabartés recalls country vacations or stormy Paris days with the painter in the mid-thirties and his tempestuous feeling as the War approached. This memoir finished, one has the conviction of having walked side by side with the artist during various periods of his life.

Far more remarkable as an introduction to Picasso, however, is a recent number of *Verve*, completely devoted to the artist's work during a summer at Antipolis. Sometimes the painter strolls along the shore, and the coiled shape of a sea-urchin or the floppy side of a fish catapults his imagination into grotesque and wonderful weavings. Again, quite apparently, the toss and leap of the waves kindles up some buried image of "old Triton with his wreathéd horn," and Picasso, like a true son of the Mediterranean, invokes the classic past. Sometimes, again, pastoral flocks or simple herdsmen will provide the prod—and then he will draw some Georgics or Eclogues. Each day, it seems, one follows him upon the beach, or to the meadows, and always he comes back with new game caught in the net of his spontaneity. Nothing can interfere with the play of his fancy. Following thus—and the excellent reproductions, both color and black-and-white, fully prompt such an expedition—one cannot complete this "vacation visit" without a renewed respect—and understanding—of an artist whose wit and variety often have puzzled the beholder.

Smaller in compass is the volume of Picasso lithographs, a book again illustrating the skill of Picasso as a draughtsman, and the incessant play of his invention. It bears the imprint of Curt Valentin, which always ensures a first-rate accomplishment in reproduction and printing.

Again in a recent *Verve*—this time on Matisse—one can amplify one's acquaintance with the French artist who scored so notably in his show last spring at the Philadelphia Museum. Here again is that voluptuously coursing line and the fruity color —a color, as in some of the household pictures, that burns blue within an interior even as the sun bakes the landscape outside. Time after time the still exuberant Matisse performs his prodigies of color, until even the most reluctant must admit his unique command of his instrument.

But the best of these volumes on French art is the Jacques Villon volume recently published by Louis Carré. First a number of quotations from writers like Baudelaire, Fromentin and others, are strung forth on the theme of light. Then the seventy-year-old Villon, a careful worker, a searching mind, an artist of chisel-sharp intensity, is described with rare tact and sensitivity by René-Jean. One is told how Villon dropped illustrating in 1910, how he sought to combine Impressionism with the ardent volume explorations of the Cubists, and then how, since 1940, his paintings of harvest-festivals and grape-gatherings, of heated fields in the southwest of France, have brought him to a point of development where his role is like that of Seurat in the 1890's. Such a study demonstrates that French art, far from being crushed by the Germans, rises on the very wings of the mind and remains forever unconquerable. As to makeup and reproductions, the book is a positive joy, and one sure to foster an elevation of our standards.

III

Too often, nevertheless, as Americans we tend to neglect our own art. Hence at least three current volumes should be welcome. Of these, the first, by Wolfgang Born, depicts the rise of our landscape painting in colonial days, its first steps in our colored prints and maplike drawings, and then its gradual burgeoning in the nineteenth century with the now fully resurgent Hudson River School. Even the backgrounds to genre pictures are discussed as landscape, which would suggest undue latitude. After the Hudson River foray has been described, those disguised railway posters—the so-called Panoramic Style of Messrs. Bierstadt, Frederick Edwin Church, *et al.*—receive inspection. Later yet come our painters of Tone and Light, those men who, like Wins-

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low Homer, Wyant, Homer Martin and our Impressionists, subjected the scene to considered arrangement and developed our landscape into a more sophisticated expression. Finally, arriving at Prendergast, Hartley, Marin and Sheeler, the author terms their achievement the day of the Technocratic Landscape. While no doubt intended to convey the impact of industrialism upon the countryside, this chapter heading seems inept and forced, because it says much more about a political craze than it does either about art or rural nature.

The book is handsomely and abundantly illustrated, but it dredges up precious little data not in the earlier studies of Isham and the Barr-Cahill Survey, nor does it incorporate any fundamental rethinking of the material at hand. Even so, it stands as a more coherent volume than Frederick S. Wight's *Milestones of American Painting in This Century*. Taking fifty contemporaries as his milestone-markers, Mr. Wight marks out a line of choice that, at first both familiar and defensible, eventually becomes blurred and even dim. Our realists, like Luks, Sloan and Bellows, are recognized; the generation of Weber and Dove has long been accepted; and one might even, for the sake of including everybody, admit the promulgators of the American Scene. After that, however, the way is less clear, with inclusion of the synthetic seascapist Mattson, the hide-and-seek performer Pavel Tchelichew, the highly dubious Brooklyn "primitive" Morris Hirschfield, and the misplaced scenic-designer Eugene Berman. It is difficult to detect either anything particularly lasting or American in such an assortment. Possibly the line should be traced out again.

Fortunately Dr. Mackinley Helm, in his expanded *Atlantic* "profile" on John Marin, has at last given a full-length personality account of this perennial American favorite. Here Marin stands out like one of his Maine headlands. One gets the breeziness of his talk, the gusto that somehow the man puts into his painting, and the special flavor informing his remarks both upon his experience and his profession. When we have produced more such artists, and more such books about them, few Ichabod Cranes should get even a hearing. Charges of sorcery, political taint, untethered education or poor training, indeed, would scarcely be tolerated. And for a good reason. Because, even as with Thoreau, Emerson and Whitman, we shall have had a Golden Day in our painting—and these Americans, no less than their fellow-painters elsewhere among the Moderns, will long have been honored for the brave, resourceful and life-renewing spirits that they are.

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URBANA

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(Continued from page 358)

I agree in principle with Mr. Silver's argument that university presses, like their commercial brethren, are too faithfully wedded to letter-press printing, and consequently disregard the possibilities of the offset process and other modern methods of cheap quantity reproduction; that by such disregard of offset, etc., they fail to fulfill a part of their obligation to scholarship; and that something must be done about it if optimum scholarly publishing is to be continued despite rising costs of manufacture. Mr. Silver's point, well-taken but possibly not sufficiently labored, is that many books of genuine scholarly importance cannot possibly pay costs of manufacture, plus minimum overhead and advertising, no matter how cheaply they be manufactured. The university press publisher's objective in such cases must be to reduce as far as possible the loss which is unavoidable, for only thus can the money available, *and meant to be lost in the process,* be spread to the maximum number of worthwhile but unprofitable books. This objective of the university press publisher must also become the objective of scholars as individuals and as a group. That last, in my opinion, is by far the more difficult part of this problem basic to our sector of publishing.

For although I agree in principle with Mr. Silver, I disagree somewhat in detail. I believe that many, if not most, university presses today are anxiously and constantly exploring the possibilities of economy in new methods of printing. I am sure that most of the people making policy for university presses realize fully the futility of printing by letterpress and binding handsomely in cloth and boards a work on the doctrinal disagreements of the predecessors of Thomas Aquinas or another comparing the municipal tax laws in Utah with those of Nevada. Both of these imaginary works might be of genuine importance to productive scholarship in their respective areas, but the maximum market in either case would be less than 500 copies, I am sure. And I am sure, further, that most publishers in our field would agree with me that this market could be reached as effectively with a book printed by offset from typewritten ("unjustified") copy, as with a book handsomely printed by letterpress, and that the question of cloth binding might safely be allowed to settle itself on the basis of the size of the book and the kind of wear to which it would be subject.

The difficult part of the matter is to convince the author and his sponsors and friends that economies we know to be worthwhile and harmless will actually not do his book and his reputation irreparable damage. Unselfishness and humility are requisite here, and these are still rarer than might be in such a highly competitive community as the world of scholars. I hope that the reader will have noted one fact here: the imaginary volumes I have mentioned are books in which *aesthetic* appeal is of no essential importance; I do not claim that books of small potential sale in the fine arts, in literary criticism, etc., may now be done acceptably by offset from typewritten copy without intrinsic depreciation. I do believe, however, that the time will soon come when books printed by offset from copy made on specially designed typewriters by stenographers of average competence will be satisfactory aesthetically as well as practically. Until that time comes, we must content ourselves with persuading those responsible for money-losing books of utilitarian rather than aesthetic importance that much is to be gained and little lost by accepting presently available compromises.

Thomas J. Wilson
Director, Harvard University Press

Comes the Revolution?

In writing his article on the university presses, Mr. Silver seems to have rid himself of some bitterness, but it does not appear that he has shed any particular light. The great problems of increased production costs and the newly developed methods for reducing these costs are known to all who are working in the graphic arts, particularly as these costs apply to printing and publishing. One is reminded, therefore, of a traveler who makes a great effort to dust off a pyramid so that his companions can see it better.

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THE first edition of this book was published in London in 1776 to further the cause of the Grand Ohio Company, a land speculation by British and American colonials. It has long been a very rare volume and much sought after by scholars and collectors of Americana.

This edition, a hitherto unpublished edition, edited by Lois Mulkearn of the Darlington Library, University of Pittsburgh, was prepared for publication in 1784 by Thomas Pownall himself.

The editor's notes are intended to make Pownall's work more intelligible to the modern reader; they identify proper names, names of places, topographic features, and events, familiar to the reader in Pownall's time, but often unfamiliar or even unknown today. Since Pownall's work is chiefly topographical, the annotations, for the most part, are limited to identifying (according to present and past location) forts, Indian towns, early settlements, and theaters of activity during the French and Indian War. Explanations of historical matters are given only when they are judged necessary to explain Pownall more fully.

Pownall was a member of Parliament, colonial governor, captain-general, commander-in-chief, and vice-admiral of His Majesty's Provinces of Massachusetts Bay and South Carolina, lieutenant-governor of New Jersey, and commissioner-general to the British Army in Germany—colonial statesman, military strategist, topographical engineer, political philosopher, farsighted promoter of commercial expansion, and idealist. His survey and map show his practicality and his idealism: "To push the western movement. . . . To make sure that the government of laws prevail and the rights of men be established in political liberty." **$10.00**

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Would it be possible to suggest to Mr. Silver that he could approach the problems in a positive rather than a negative manner? His particular experience during recent years, with perhaps the largest university press in point of titles published annually, would enable him to present a detailed and balanced statement of advantages and disadvantages in using processes other than letterpress for printing scholarly books that command a limited market: or he might write an article based on his present work in progress for the learned societies to determine just which printing process is most effective for special publications of these societies or of scholars writing for special groups. His recent article entitled "The Conservative University Press" does not present information that will carry his point when one considers the current experiments of people now concerned with university publishing. The reader response to THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR will, of course, give a better indication of the article's value as enlightenment for mankind.

It is desirable for all of us to work in a more friendly manner on the problems faced by the university presses. As a minor contribution to this effort toward general peace and progress, we can express our hope that Henry Silver will not find in the near future that he has achieved the astonishment and disappointment of a puppy that has caught and bitten his own tail.

Victor Reynolds
University Publisher at Cornell

NATIONAL INTEREST AND MORAL PRINCIPLES IN FOREIGN POLICY

The Inevitable Compromise

If—as Hans Morgenthau contends—national interest, meaning national survival, is to be pursued by statesmen above any considerations of morality, private or universal, this must be in the light of one of three theses:

1. service of national interest in the long run promotes greater morality;
2. patriotism is of a different and higher order than ordinary moral precepts or values ("My country right or wrong"); or
3. patriotism is also a moral value, but comes at the top of the moral values.

Of these, (1) remains unproven and presumably unprovable, since neither survival nor peace can be shown to possess absolute value; while (2) and (3) assume that every state must be the highest good to its own citizens.

If this is assumed, it is not clear why Hans Morgenthau left his native Germany merely because it fell under the control of a psychopathic monster called Adolf Hitler. Why was it not his duty to stay and serve Germany's national interest as Hitler saw it, even at personal risk? For if Morgenthau as an individual German reserved the right to dissent from his rulers' views of the national interest, he had to grant the same right to all other Germans. If a dominant majority had voted that it was the national interest of Germany to submit to Russia (let us say) or to erect a purely apostolic community regardless of political results, *then this or that would have become national interest.*

In short, there is no "interest" of a nation as such, but only of the individuals who compose that nation. If these individuals decide that it is their national interest to succumb as a Christian victim, rather than fight other nations, there is no political criterion by which they can be judged wrong.

Surely, the real answer to the perplexing problem—when is it better for a state to remain decent and die or embark on what its citizens consider crimes and live?—is to consider this as a normal and sometimes inevitable choice between conflicting moral values, all of which are subject to fluctuations.

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The statesman will choose entirely according to his view of the relative importance of say, the Golden Rule, as against a possible material advantage for his particular state. This in turn will depend upon the degree of his religion, and the amount of value which he attaches to his nation. A statesman may—in other words—defend his state when "decent" and free, but turn against it when it becomes criminal or tyrannical. He may rightly be a hero in one war and a conscientious objector in the next, both times with the same clear conscience.

More than other individuals, statesmen are haunted by the need of choosing, not the greater good but the lesser evil. This fact has been recognized by Hans Morgenthau in his *Scientific Man vs. Power Politics*, and it is strange that he should have forgotten it here.

Therefore, far from there being no room for compromise between national interest and moral principles, there must always be compromise—as William T. R. Fox recognizes, though somewhat fuzzily.

To sum up: in my eyes, a *good* foreign policy is one whose makers have taken all the relevant desires of the citizens into due account. A *bad* policy is one that assumes that *homo politicus* can be sundered from *homo sapiens*.

There is no simpler formula.

Edgar Ansel Mowrer
Washington, D. C.

A Merely Verbal Disagreement

In spite of his protest to the contrary, it seems to me that Mr. Fox's disagreement with Mr. Morgenthau's article is merely verbal. The conclusion to be drawn from both these articles is that a nation's foreign policy must be based upon its self-interest. Mr. Fox makes much of the proposition that national security means not only the maintenance of territorial integrity, but also of the nation's basic institutions; but he seems to ignore the fact that what a nation considers to be the moral value of its internal institutions is part and parcel of its self-interest. A nation defends those internal policies, not because of any international morality, but for the sake of its own security. Of course nations like to dress up their foreign policy with a pretty covering of self-righteousness, but even when morality and self-interest point in the same direction, it is the latter factor which must motivate a nation's foreign policy.

In a world of international anarchy this cannot be otherwise. In a state of anarchy, self-survival must be the paramount goal. As Mr. Morgenthau has pointed out, individuals are only able to guide their actions on a basis of morality or idealism because of the protection which is given them by government. Nations today have no such outer protection, and must rely solely upon themselves for survival.

In regard to Mr. Fox's reference to the Kingdom of God and peace on earth, Mr. Morgenthau does not oppose those worthy goals. He is simply realistic enough to realize that those things cannot be achieved in a state of international anarchy. "*Civitas Dei*" cannot be achieved except through governmental organization. So long as nations must rely solely upon themselves for their protection and survival, self-interest and not morality will continue to be the basis of all foreign policy.

W. T. Holliday
The Standard Oil Company
Cleveland, Ohio

Two Conceptions of the National Interest

Professor Morgenthau says many interesting and cogent things, but I think most of his formal argumentation is concerned with a pseudo-problem. There is no such thing as *the* national interest, and moral principles have but little bearing on foreign policy in any case.

There are different conceptions of the national interest which reflect the interests of different classes within the nation. Normally —though, of course, there may be exceptions—the spokesmen for any given conception will argue in terms of moral principles. Quite sincerely, of course, but sin-

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cerity is one thing and effective cause another.

The real conflict over American foreign policy today is between two different conceptions of the national interest. The one which is actually being pursued by the Truman administration, with the enthusiastic backing of the Republicans, reflects the interests of what Veblen called the absentee owners. Its essence is on the one hand the extirpation (*not* the containment) of communism, and on the other hand American economic hegemony over the world's markets and spheres of investment. Its slogans are democracy and liberty. That these slogans are sincerely believed in by most Americans does not change matters. Morgenthau is quite right when he says that "inevitably . . . a foreign policy which starts out as a crusade for universal liberty and democracy will end in a war to conquer the world."

The rival conception of foreign policy reflects the interests of what Veblen called the underlying population. (This is not less true, incidentally, simply because as yet only a small proportion of the underlying population recognizes it to be true.) Its essence is on the one hand recognition of the right of different social systems to coexist and compete for popular support in terms of performance, and on the other hand a rejection of special foreign economic privileges for American big business. Its slogans are the right of peoples to self-determination and anti-imperialism.

This second conception of national interest would be false and dangerous only if it could be proven (not merely reiterated a thousand times a day) that Soviet Russia, like the Axis in the inter-war period, is out to conquer the world through the use of military force. This has not been, and in my judgment cannot be, proven. Common sense, historical experience, and the weight of contemporary evidence are all against it.

I take it from what he says that Morgenthau accepts the rival as opposed to the dominant conception of national interest, though perhaps, like a good professor, he would prefer that there be no slogans to go with it. That does not prove that he is a Red, as the un-Americans would doubtless maintain, but only that he is a rational human being who refuses to be stampeded by the current wave of anti-Communist hysteria.

As to Mr. Fox, I can only conclude from his last paragraph—from much of the rest of his piece I can conclude nothing—that he is a very naïve supporter of the dominant conception of national interest.

Paul M. Sweezy
Wilton, New Hampshire

Our Primary Allegiance

It seems to me that the greatest disservice Professor Morgenthau has done to his own cause, has been to define as rigid absolutes both national interest and moral principles, and then to adhere to the supremacy of a profit motive—i.e., national interest, over moral principle.

When one speaks of national interest, we interpret it to mean selfish gain to be achieved at someone else's expense. That gain may immediately be of a political concept, but its ultimate benefits are economic in nature. (Though we try to obfuscate this end.) Yet what principle caused the Chinese to look for guidance and assistance from the United States? Our national, or their national self-interest, or our historical moral relationship that originally aided them after the debacle of the Boxer Rebellion? What caused President Roosevelt to be revered by the peoples of South and Central America? The activities of our economic penetrators, acting originally in self-interest, or the Good Neighbor Policy, which offered them the opportunity to develop themselves as active participants in a cultural and economic rationale?

One may be admired for his ascendancy in the field of economic behavior, but that admiration borders on fear for one's own development. Respect and cooperation to a mutually beneficial end can best be achieved by the establishment of and adherence to moral principle.

It would be naïve to assume that moral principle alone should be the guiding criterion of our activities, and that national in-

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terest should be negated. In the competitive society which exists today, such a viewpoint might well prove disastrous. There are ideas, however, and guideposts of action, that are mutually beneficial—that act to bring out the best that inherently lies within each nation. Our primary allegiance should be to the moral justification of our deeds, our secondary to the national ends that may be served by such actions—both to be considered with the goal of helping one another develop the latent as well as evident assets which we possess. The "profit" accruing to all participants guided by such motives will both be moral and, ultimately, economic in nature.

Louis Sapir
The City College
School of Business and Civic Administration
17 Lexington Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMENTS

Do Spiritual Values Require a Theological Basis?

It was with keen pleasure that I read both articles in the Winter issue on this subject.

How difficult it is for any thinker to reach the mind of the public without having his ideas road-blocked and distorted by non-reasoning readers. It takes courage, gentlemen, it takes courage.

Let me presume.

Intelligence, as a noun, should always be written with a capital I. Intelligence is the fertile parent of all things the mind can contemplate. Intelligence is never static. It would cease to be Intelligence.

Religion seems to have been very necessary to the human family for several eons. For too many, its forms still seem to be necessary, dreams taking the place of stone gods. Of course, all such people fail to grasp what applied Intelligence really is, they are so soothed asleep in the arms of clichés and orthodoxies. Immune to Intelligence, one cannot awake them. Let them sleep. Religion finds it necessary to erect such a fence round itself.

Infinite Intelligence, by whatever name we wish to address it, is action, evolvement, the embryo of the Unknown. Anything else is zero.

Why continue to build false gods within the Temple of the Master?

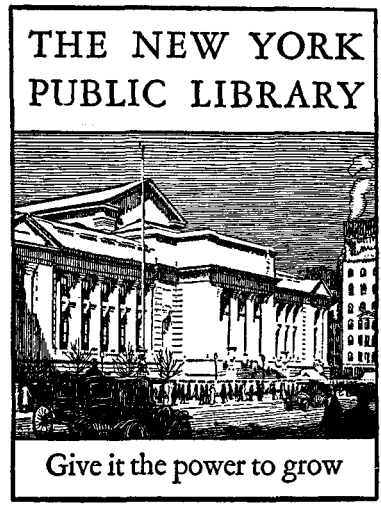
We know that any law or rule outlined today, is outgrown and obsolete tomorrow. Truth is a relative term. Let us learn to be specific in our connotations and strive to correlate the realities as we can best see them—not merely as intellectuals; we must be Intelligent. The difference is terrific.

It's a nice habit so rarely applied. Let's go!

Father built me a God,
Taught me a dream to pray.
Now my own thoughts falter
Like dull gray sheep
On hills that fade away.

Now I must tell my son,
Teach him a dream to sleep,
For man-made gods are jealous things
And father's ghost might weep.

C. Bruce MacInnis
3515 West Roxbury Street
Seattle 6, Washington



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